



**Source Material for a History of
the Freedom Movement in India**

**NON-CO-OPERATION
MOVEMENT
IN BOMBAY CITY
1920 - 25**

Volume VI

Edited by. : Dr. B. G. Kunte

GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA
MUMBAI

(Collected from the Maharashtra State Records)

PREFACE

In January 1953 the Government of India appointed a Board of Editors for the compilation of History of the Freedom Movement in India. In order to assist and collect material the Central Board of Editors requested all the State Governments to set up State Committees in every State. Accordingly the then Bombay State formed the Bombay State Committee for a History of the Freedom Movement in India in 1953. This Committee worked for a few years and was dissolved in September 1956. It however recommended to the State Government to continue the office and publish the Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement. The Committee with late Prof. M. R. Palande as Executive Secretary brought out two volumes of the Source Material, one dealing with the period from 1818-1885 and the other from 1885-1920. Prof. N. R. Phatak took charge of the Committee as Executive Secretary in 1959. Under his guidance three volumes were published pertaining to Source Material on Mahatma Gandhi. In 1973 the office of the Committee was discontinued and the staff was merged with the Gazetteers Department which was entrusted with the task of completing the rest of the work.

The department has so far completed the series in the Source Material pertaining to Mahatma Gandhi by bringing out four additional volumes. The department now proposes to bring out the Source Material for the most crucial period in the Freedom Struggle *viz.*, 1920-1947. It is envisaged to publish this vast Source Material contained in the records of Home Department, Inspector General of Police, Commissioner of Police, Archives Department etc. of the Government of Maharashtra in 15 to 20 volumes covering subjects such as Civil Disobedience Movement, Khilafat, Quit India Movement Revolutionary Activities in Maharashtra, and Political Parties

and Personalities during Freedom Struggle etc. These volumes will also contain material from the Archives of the Government of Goa, Daman and Diu on the Freedom Struggle in Goa *vis-a-vis* Maharashtra and from the Archives of the Government of Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh pertaining to the districts of Marathwada and Vidarbha regions of the present State of Maharashtra but which formerly formed part of these respective States. The material from these numerous sources would be collected subjectwise and individualwise and would be published as and when the compilation and collection as stated above is completed. As such it would be very difficult to maintain in the publication a chronological sequence in the narration of events in the history of the Freedom Struggle. This means that Source Material pertaining to Non-Co-operation Movement in Bombay City during 1920-1925 may not be followed by that of in 1930, 1931 or 1932 or for that matter by the Source Material on Khilafat Movement.

The present volume the material for which has been compiled from the records of the office of the Commissioner of Police, Greater Bombay, covers the period 1920-1925. The Non-Co-operation and Khilafat Movement which was started by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920 was a major departure from the old activities of the Indian National Congress. This was a very bold step taken by the people of India under the unique leadership of Gandhiji. The present struggle was in the nature of non-violent non-co-operation on an all India scale. This was the first time after the Bengal agitation of 1905 in protest against the partition of Bengal that Hindus and Muslims of India were fighting shoulder to shoulder against the British Imperialism. Though the cause of Khilafat was not an internal one the feelings of Indian Muslims were running very high over the matter and hence Mahatma Gandhi took up the cause along with his non-co-operation and a joint front was opened by him in conjunction with Moulana Shaukat Ali and Moulana Mahamad Ali against the British regime. Bombay City was the seat of political agitation of British India and naturally

the movement was launched here. The great enthusiasm of the people through demonstrations and hartals was witnessed by Bombay. Number of Muslims along with their Hindu brethren gave up titles, and resigned from services. Many individuals who were standing for the elections decided to withdraw their candidature. Number of meetings were held during the Satyagraha week to make propaganda of Non-Cooperation. These meetings were addressed by eminent persons such as Mrs. Sarojini Devi, Lala Lajpatrai, V. J. Patel, Pickthall, A. B. Kolhatkar and many others. On 31st July 1921 a big bon-fire of foreign cloth took place in the Elphinstone Mills belonging to Umar Sobhani. Gandhiji set the fire to the pile of foreign cloth. The second bon-fire took place on 9th October 1921 when *Gandhiji made it clear that they had ruled out secrecy from their book of non-co-operation.*

The volunteers picketed the foreign cloth shops and liquor shops openly. Even ladies were seen taking leading part in this activity. It was for the first time that women came forward openly to participate in the anti-British activities. Foreign cloth shops and liquor shops were the main targets of picketing during this movement which was conducted by a large number of women volunteers. This volume covers in detail the crisscross currents of those days which any reader of modern Indian history would find interesting.

In the compilation and collation of this volume, I was assisted by Dr. V. N. Gurav, M.A., PH.D., Deputy Editor, Shri M. H. Ranade, B.A., Research Officer, Shri S. K. Khilare, B.COM., LL.B., Research Officer, Shri B. N. Phatak, M.A., Superintendent, Sarvashri K. Z. Raut, M.A., D. J. Nawadkar, M.A., S. S. Gaikwad, M.A., R. S. Urade, B.A., Research Assistants, and Shri D. A. Tendulkar and Shri R. S. Kumbhar, Assistants. Shri S. G. Shetye, Smt. U. S. Bhagwat, Shri L. N. Tawade, Shri K. N. Parab, Shri A. J. Gaichor, Miss S. M. Mayekar, typists of this department to all of whom my thanks are due. I am also thankful to the Commissioner of Police,

Deputy Commissioner of Police, Superintendent, and other staff members of the Record Section for their co-operation and help.

My thanks are also due to Shri S. A. Sapre, Director of Printing and Stationery, Government of Maharashtra and Shri R. B. Alva, Manager, Government Central Press; for the manner in which the present volume was brought out. I am also thankful to my parent department *viz.*, General Administration Department for the kind consideration it has always shown to me in the execution of this important work.

B. G. KUNTE,

Bombay, May 1978.

Executive Editor and Secretary.

PROLOGUE

I am very glad to bring out the e-Book Edition (CD version) of Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement. This e-book edition is facsimile reproduction of already published volumes.

So far twelve volumes are published under this series. They contain valuable data regarding India's struggle for freedom. These volumes form an important source for the scholars, historians who are interested in studying different phases and dimensions of the freedom movement. The material is collected from Government's secrete and confidential official records. Thus, these volumes have made available that information which was so far not easily accessible to the scholars.

Considering utility of these volumes, need was felt to preserve this treasure of knowledge. In this age of modernization, information and technology have become key words. To keep pace with the changing need of hour, I have decided to bring out a CD version of these volumes. I am sure, scholars and studious persons across the world will find these CDs immensely beneficial.

This CD contains Volume VI, "Non-Cooperation Movement in Bombay City (1920-1925)" published in 1978. This volume was edited by Dr.B.G.Kunte.

I am thankful to the Honourable Minister, Shri. Ashokrao Chavan (Industries and Mines, Cultural Affairs and Protocol), and the Minister of State Shri. Rana Jagjitsinh Patil (Agriculture, Industries and Cultural Affairs), Shri Bhushan Gagrani, (Secretary, Cultural Affairs), Government of Maharashtra for being a constant source of inspiration.

Place: Mumbai

Dr. Arunchandra S. Pathak

Date: 26th January 2007

Executive Editor and Secretary

HISTORY OF THE NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT

BOMBAY CITY

CONFIDENTIAL

INTRODUCTION

Before beginning to narrate the history of the non-co-operation movement it is necessary to give an idea of certain events which eventually resulted in the starting of the non-co-operation movement in right earnest. It may be remembered that the 1919 Session of the Indian National Congress, which was held at Amritsar in X'mas week, should have been devoted to the consideration of the new Government of India Act, embodying the scheme of constitutional reforms in India, which became known to the Indians shortly before the Congress met. As a matter of fact it was chiefly devoted to the consideration of the Punjab disorders. The President of the Congress, Pandit Motilal Nehru, devoted himself mainly to the Punjab disturbances. His pronouncement on the Reform Act was somewhat halting. The resolutions submitted to the Session were compromises in which the principal points of differences were as to whether the Congress should express gratitude for the Reforms or disapprove of the omission from the Royal Proclamation of any reference to the Punjab disturbances. At any rate the Amritsar Congress rendered lip-service to the Reforms. While declaring the fitness of India for full responsible Government, and the Reforms as inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing, it declared its willingness to work them so as to attain the early establishment of full responsible Government. But this mood did not last long. The issue of the Hunter Committee Report and the unsatisfactory solution of the " Khilafat " led Mr. Gandhi to declare his intention of leading a non-co-operation campaign directed towards the modification of the Turkish peace terms. Mr. Gandhi associated himself very closely with the two Mahomedan leaders, Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali in connection with their agitation on behalf of Turkey. In March 1920 Mr. Gandhi plainly announced that in case the Khilafat sentiments of his Muslim fellow-subjects were not met by the " terms of peace " with Turkey, he would himself lead a non-co-operation movement directed towards making the position of Government impossible.

Gandhi's views on non-co-operation

Mr. Gandhi first advocated the policy of non-co-operation in his manifesto dated the 10th March 1920, which runs as follows :—

" The Khilafat question has now become a question of questions. It has become an Imperial question of the first magnitude.

The great prelates of England and the Mahomedan leaders combined have brought the question to the fore. The prelates threw down the challenge. The Muslim leaders have taken it up. I trust the Hindus will realise that the Khilafat question overshadowed the Reforms and everything else. If the Muslim claim was unjust, apart from the Muslim scriptures, one might hesitate to support it merely on scriptural authority. But when a just claim is supported by scriptures it becomes irresistible."

* Pages 145 to 150 of the book " Young India " by Babu Rajendra Prasad, 1924 edition.

Briefly put, the claim is that the Turks should retain European Turkey subject to full guarantee for the protection of non-Muslim races under the Turkish Empire and that the Sultan should control the holy places of Islam and should have suzerainty over Jazirat-ul-Arab, i.e., Arabia as defined by the Muslim Savants, subject to self-governing rights being given to the Arabs if they so desire. This was what was promised by Mr. Lloyd George and this was what Lord Hardinge had contemplated. The Mahomedan soldiers would not have fought to deprive Turkey of her possessions. To deprive the Khalif of his suzerainty is to reduce the Khalifa to a nullity.

To restore to Turkey, subject to necessary guarantees, what was hers before the War is a Christian solution. To wrest any of her possessions from her for the sake of punishing her is a gunpowder solution. The Allies or England in the hour of her triumph must be scrupulously just; to reduce the Turks to impotence would be not only unjust it would be a breach of solemn declarations and promises. It is to be wished that the Viceroy will take his courage in both his hands and place himself at the head of the Khilafat agitation as Lord Hardinge did at the time of the " South African Passive Resistance " struggle and thus like his predecessor give a clear and emphatic direction to an agitation which under impulsive or faulty leadership may lead to disastrous consequences.

But the situation rests more with us, Hindus and Mahomedans, than with the Viceroy and still more with the Muslim leaders than with the Hindus and the Viceroy. There are signs already of impatience on the part of Muslim friends and impatience may any day be reduced to madness and the latter must inevitably lead to violence. And I wish I could persuade everyone to see that violence is suicide. Supposing the Muslim demands are not granted by the Allies or, say England I see nothing but hope in Mr. Montagu's brave defence of the Muslim position and Mr. Lloyd George's interpretation of his own declaration. True, the latter is halting but he can secure full justice under it. But we must suppose the worst and expect and strive for the best. How to strive is the question. What we may not do is clear enough:

- (1) There should be no violence in thought, speech or deed.
- (2) Therefore there should be no boycott of British goods by way of revenge or punishment. Boycott in my opinion is a form of violence. Moreover even if it were desirable, it is totally impracticable.
- (3) There should be no rest till the minimum is achieved.
- (4) There should be no mixing up of other questions with the Khilafat. e.g.. the Egyptian question.

Let us see what must be done---

- (1) The cessation of business on 19th March 1920 and expression of the minimum demands by means of one single resolution.

This is a necessary first step provided that the *hartal* is absolutely voluntary and the employees are not asked to leave their work unless they receive permission from their employers. I would strongly urge that the milllands should be left untouched. The further proviso is that there should be no violence accompanying the *hartal*. I have often been told that the Criminal Investigation Department sometimes provokes violence. I do not believe in it as a great charge. But even if it be true, our discipline should make it impossible. Our success depends solely on our ability to control, guide and discipline the masses.

Now a word as to what may be done if the demands are not granted. The barbarous method is warfare open or secret. This must be ruled out if only because it is impracticable. If I could persuade everyone that it is always bad we should gain all lawful ends much quicker. The power that an individual or a nation for swearing violence generates is a power that is irresistible. But my argument to-day against violence is based upon pure expediency, i.e. its utter futility.

Non-co-operation is therefore the only remedy left open to us. It is the clearest remedy as it is the most effective, when it is absolutely free from all violence. It becomes a duty when non-co-operation means degradation or humiliation or an injury to one's cherished religious sentiments. England cannot expect a meek submission by us to an unjust usurpation of rights which to Musalmans mean matters of life and death. We may therefore begin at the top as also the bottom. Those who are holding offices of honour or emolument ought to give them up. Those who belong to the menial service under the Government should do likewise. Non-co-operation does not apply to service under private individuals. I cannot approve of the threat of ostracism against those who do not adopt the remedy of non-co-operation. It is only a voluntary withdrawal which is effective. For voluntary withdrawal alone is a test of popular feeling and dissatisfaction. Advice to the soldier to refuse to serve is premature. It is the last, not the first step. We should be entitled to take that step when the Viceroy, the Secretary of State and the Premier desert us. Moreover every step in withdrawing co-operation has to be taken with the greatest deliberation. We must proceed slowly so as to ensure the retention of self-control under the fiercest heat.

Many look upon the Calcutta resolutions with the deepest alarm. They scent in them preparation for violence. I do not look upon them in that light though I do not approve of the tone of some of them. I have already mentioned those whose subject matter I dislike.

Can Hindus accept all the resolutions'.? Is the question addressed by some ? I can only speak for myself. I will co-operate whole-heartedly with the Muslim friends in the prosecution of their just demands so long as they act with sufficient restraint and so long as I feel sure that they do not wish to resort to or countenance violence. I should cease to co-operate and advise every Hindu and for that matter everyone else to cease to co-operate the moment there was violence actually done, advised or countenanced. I would therefore urge upon all speakers the exercise of the greatest restraint under the greatest provocation. There is certainty of victory if firmness is combined with gentleness. The cause is doomed, if anger, hatred, ill-will, recklessness and finally violence are to reign supreme. I shall resist them all my life even if I should stand alone. My goal is friendship with the world and I can combine the greatest love with the greatest opposition to wrong. "

Gandhi's plans of non-co-operation

Mr. Gandhi's plan of non-co-operation was adopted later on at a meeting of the All-India Khilafat Committee held in Bombay on the *11th-14th April 1920* in which Mr. Gandhi took a prominent part. The important decisions of this meeting were, among others, as follows :

(1) It was decided that no action, *other than propaganda.*, should be taken for the present. The period of postponement was limited to three months to give the Central Khilafat Committee time to send a deputation to London. spend a month there, and return before the real business commenced.

(2) It was decided that, when further action should become necessary, it should take the form of *withdrawal from co-operation with the Government, step by step*, in the order shown in the following plan which was drawn up by a special Committee of which Mr. Gandhi was the principal member:—

- (a) All titles and honours to be relinquished;
- (b) Resignations by Members of Councils;
- (c) Private servants to give up their jobs;
- (d) Resignations of subordinate Government servants including the Police;
- (e) Resignations of superior Government servants;
- (f) Withdrawal of Musalmans from the army; and
- (g) Refusal to pay taxes.

Non-co-operation plan explained

A further explanation of the plan of the Non-co-operation campaign was published by Mr. Gandhi in *Young India* of the 5th May 1920. The article in question explains *how to work non-co-operation*.

The following excerpts of the article are noteworthy :—

"The first is the giving up of titles and resignations of honorary posts. If there is no response or if the response received is not effective, recourse will be had to the second stage. The second stage involves much previous arrange-ments. Certainly not a single servant will be called out unless he is either capable of supporting himself and his dependents or the Khilafat Committee is able to bear the burden. All the classes of servants will not be called out at once and never will any pressure be put upon a single servant to withdraw himself from the Government Service. Nor will a single employee be touched for simple reason that the movement is not anti-English. It is not even anti-Government. Co-operation is to be withdrawn because the people must not be party to a wrong, a broken pledge, a violation of deep religious sentiments. The withdrawal of the Police and the Military—the third stage is a distant goal. The organisers, however, wanted to be fair, open and above suspicion. They did not want to keep back from the Government or the public a single step they had in contemplation, even as a remote contingency. The fourth, i.e. suspension of general taxation, is fraught with the greatest danger. It is likely to bring a sensitive class in conflict with the Police. They are therefore not likely to embark upon it unless they can do so with the assurance that there will be no violence offered by the people. Non-co-operation as a voluntary movement can only succeed if the feeling is genuine and strong enough to make people suffer to the utmost. If the religious sentiment of the Mahomedans is simply hurt and if the Hindus entertain neighbourly regard towards their Muslim brothers they will both count no cause too great for achieving the end. Non-co-operation will not only be an effective remedy but will also be an effective test of the sincerity of the Muslim claim and the-Hindu profession of friendship."

Non-co-operation plans matured at Allahabad Conference

The All-India Khilafat Conference, which met at Allahabad on the 2nd and 3rd June 1920, adopted the programme of Non-co-operation. In this Conference Gandhi and many Indian leaders took part. The account of this Conference was issued to the press by the Khilafat Committee on the 4th June 1920. The following extracts from the report will be of interest:—

".....Mr. Gandhi said he knew full well that the Muslims realised that Non-co-operation was the only remedy now left to India. He wholeheartedly sympathised with them and was prepared to co-operate with them

to get the Peace Terms revised. He was of opinion that the warfare was between false Christianity and Islam. On one side was the strength of arms and on the other side moral force. The course that the Non-cooperation movement should pursue would be graduated in four stages and previously to working out the first of them *His Excellency the Viceroy should be approached and given a notice of one month* to see that the Turkish Peace terms were revised in conformity with Muslims' demands and in case it was not done to resign and join the movement of Non-co-operation. After a month the first stage will be put into operation."

The following resolution on Non-co-operation was adopted at the above Allahabad Conference : -

"This meeting re-affirms the movement of non-co-operation in accordance with the four stages already approved by the Central Khilafat Committee and appoints a *Sub-Committee* consisting of the following gentlemen with powers to add to their number, *to give practical effect to the movement* without further delay :

Mr. M. K. Gandhi,
Maulana Abul Kalam Azad,
Maulvi Mahomed Ali,
Mr. Ahmed Haji Siddik Khatri,
Maulana Shaukat Ali,
Dr. Kitchlew, and
Maulana Hasrat Mohani."

Non-co-operation Policy given effect to

The leading event of the first week of July 1920 had been the publication throughout India by *Gandhi's Committee of Non-co-operation of a manifesto giving immediate effect to the policy of Non-co-operation*. The manifesto or the statement issued by the Non-co-operation Committee is reproduced below :

Manifesto by the Non-co-operation Committee

" Many questions have been asked of the Non-co-operation Committee as to its expectations and the methods to be adopted for beginning Non-co-operation. Committee wished it to be understood that while they expect everyone to respond to their recommendations to the full, they are desirous of carrying weakest members also with them. The Committee want to enlist passive sympathy if not active co-operation, of the whole of the country in methods of non-co-operation. Those, therefore, who cannot undergo physical sacrifice will help by contributing funds or labour to movement. Should Non-co-operation become necessary. Committee has decided upon following as part of first stage :

- (1) Non-participation in Government loans.
- (2) To surrender all titles of honour and honorary offices.
- (3) Suspension by lawyers of practice and settlement of civil disputes by private arbitration.
- (4) Boycott of Government schools by parents.
- (5) Boycott of Reformed Councils.
- (6) Non-participation in Government parties and such other functions.
- (7) Refusal to accept any civil or military post in Mesopotamia or to offer as units for army especially for service in Turkish territories now being administered in violation of pledges.

(8) Vigorous prosecution of *Swadeshi*, inducing people at the time of this national awakening to appreciate their national duties to their country by being satisfied with its own productions and manufactures. *Swadeshi must be pushed without waiting for the 1st of August*, for it is an eternal rule of conduct not to be interrupted even when settlement arrives. In order not to commit themselves people will refrain now from taking service either civil or military. They will also suspend taking Government loans, new or old. *For the rest it should be remembered that Non-co-operation does not commence before the 1st August 1920*. Every effort is being and will still be made to avoid resort to such serious breach with Government by urging His Majesty's Ministers to secure revision of Treaty which has been so universally condemned. Those who realise their responsibility and gravity of course will not act independently but in consort with Committee. Success depends entirely upon discipline and concerted Non-co-operation and latter is dependent upon strict obedience to instructions, calmness and absolute freedom from violence.

Non-co-operation Committee suggests Hartal on 1st August 1920

The 1st August 1920 marks the inauguration of the Non-co-operation movement in full vigour. To make this day successful the Non-co-operation Committee issued a statement advising full Hartal on the 1st of August and giving detailed instructions for the observance of the Hartal as a protest against the Turkish Treaty. Before reproducing here the statement of the Non-co-operation Committee it would be of interest to refer in brief to a letter written by Mr. Gandhi (despatched from Bombay on the 22nd June 1920) to His Excellency the Viceroy regarding the inauguration of Non-co-operation. In this letter he explains his connections with the movement and the causes which led to his taking up the Khilafat question. In this letter he says " *The only course open to one like me is either in despair to sever all connection with British Rule*, or, if I still retained faith in the inherent superiority of the British Constitution to all others at present in vogue, to adopt such means as will rectify the wrongs done and thus restore confidence."

" *I admit that Non-co-operation practised by the mass of people is attended with grave risks*. But in a crisis such as has overtaken the Musalmans of India, no step that is unattended with large risks can possibly bring about the desired change. *Not to run some risks now will be to court much greater risks if not virtual destruction of law and order.*"

Instructions regarding Hartal of 1st August 1920

The following statement was issued by the Non-co-operation Committee, Bombay, regarding observance of Hartal on 1st August 1920 :—

" Although every effort is being made to secure revision of the Peace Terms, it appears to be almost certain that it will not come before the 1st of August next. The Committee desires to mark the sacred character of a forthcoming demonstration of non-co-operation in a fitting manner. It also wishes to gauge the public feeling in the matter. The Committee, therefore seeks the co-operation of Hindu and other Non-Muslim communities in making inauguration a complete success."

(1) *The Committee advise full Hartal on the 1st of August 1920 the day should be devoted to prayers. All those who can should fast for the day. Meetings should be held all over the country, not excluding the smallest village at which the following resolution should be adopted with or without speeches .*

THE RESOLUTION

" This meeting held at of the inhabitants records its full sympathy with the movement of the Central Khilafat Committee in order to secure revision of the Turkish Peace Terms, consistently with Muslim sentiment and Islamic Law, and approves of Non-co-operation adopted by the Central Khilafat Committee to be continued till the Peace Terms are revised. This meeting respectfully urges the Imperial Government in the interest of the Empire which they are supposed to represent to secure a just revision of the Terms which have been universally condemned as unjust and manifestly in breach of ministerial Declarations."

The Resolution should be sent to His Excellency the Viceroy with a covering letter requesting him to forward the same to the Imperial Government. The Khilafat Committee should be advised of the passing of the resolution and its despatch.

Movement not Civil Disobedience

N.B.—There should be no processions.

Speeches should be restrained.

It is expected that the meetings everywhere will be very largely attended.

All Police and other Government instructions or regulations should be strictly and scrupulously obeyed.

No meeting should be held where there is any written prohibition.

It cannot be too often urged that the whole success of the movement depends upon perfect peace being observed by the community and the complete obedience being rendered to Police instructions in connection with the movement.

It should be clearly understood that this is not a movement of civil disobedience.

What should be done when unreasonable orders are issued interfering with the liberty of the subjects will be considered on their merits by the Committee

Renounce Titles

It is expected that all title-holders, Honorary Magistrates, Justices of Peace, Members of the Legislative Councils, who feel about this important question affecting the well-being of millions of Muslims and who are in sympathy with the movement, will surrender their titles or honorary posts on this day

Propaganda for Hartal of 1st August 1920

The last week of July 1920 was devoted to the preparations for the *Hartal*, Efforts were made with scant success so far, to induce Bombay Justices of Peace to resign their dignity. The Muslim volunteers paraded for instructions and 10,000 posters were printed and distributed over the whole of India. Supplementary to these posters the Central Khilafat Committee circulated in large numbers distinctly objectionable instructions. The posters and instructions bore the signatures of all the members of the Non-Co-operation Sub-Committee including Gandhi. The posters stated amongst other things "First August 1920 is the beginning day of the Non-co-operation Movement. On that day offer prayers to God, observe fasts, stop business, hold committees and promise to God that you will suffer every sort of trouble for the sake of righteousness. Renounce the title and honorary post, etc."

Inauguration of non-co-operation and Tilak's death—1st August 1920

Tilak's obsequies and the inauguration of Non-co-operation and Third Khilafat Day.

The above events have been fully described in paragraph 1131 (q) of *Bombay Secret Abstract* dated 7th August 1920—a short account of the same is as under ;

" The Third Khilafat Day passed peacefully. Except for some damages done by non-co-operating Gharriwallas to three or four victorias which were plying for hire on August 1st, 1920, and for demonstration by the mourners in Tilak's funeral procession designed to secure the removal of the headgear of covered spectators, no manifestation of violence and no regrettable incidents occurred anywhere. The suspension of work was complete in the heart of the City and in the business quarters ; but became less and less marked as the distance from the centre of things increased. It was completed during the middle hours of the day, after the news of Tilak's death had become generally known. All the mills and most of the markets were closed. No performances were given in the Theatres during the day but in the evening the cinemas were opened. Very few public conveyances were to be seen, though the Tramways, like other municipal and public services, worked as usual on Sundays. Tea, bidi and pan shops did not close at all. Throughout the forenoon large crowds thronged the neighbourhood of Sardargriha Hotel, on the first floor verandah of which from an early hour of the morning the dead Tilak was seated in state in full view of the spectators below. Shortly after the arrival of the special train from Poona, the funeral procession started from Carnac Road. After traversing for three hours some of the densest part of the city the body was finally placed on a pyre erected at Chaupati foreshore and there burnt in the presence of a large crowd.

.....The evening meeting at Mastan Talao was not a large affair. Not more than 4,000 persons attended. The speeches were moderate. There were no surprises in the way of announcements of resignations and titles or otherwise. Owing doubtless to the unsettled weather conditions, the meeting broke up much earlier than usual.

As a test of the strength of feeling in regard to non-co-operation the day was a failure. The *hartal* was continued as a mark of respect for Tilak throughout 2nd August. Though less generally observed than on the previous day, it caused some anxiety and occasioned some minor disturbances.

.....The Police, however, reinforced by a heavy shower of rain, restored order and dispersed a mob of several thousand strong which marched to Chaupati and interfered with traffic. The day's observance ended with a public meeting expressing regret at Tilak's death. The conditions, on the third day were normal."

Sheriff Devji Canji resigned his seat in the Legislative Council and Mia Ahmed Chotani as well as Ahmed Haji Siddik Khatri resigned J. P. ships.

Renunciations of Titles, resignations of offices, etc.

In accordance with the Non-co-operation Committee suggestion to renounce titles, resign public offices and Honorary Magistrateships, etc., from the *1st of August, 1920*, a few Mohammedans made a start in this direction by renouncing titles and resigning J. P. ships. A complete list of those persons who responded

to this call during the Non-co-operation period is given below for ready reference:—

J. P. ship

1. Mia Mahomed Haji Jan Mahomed Chotani,
2. Mia Ahmed Haji Jan Mahomed Chotani,
3. Ahmed Siddik Khatri,
4. Haji Habib Haji Karim Mohammad,
5. Haji Ali Mohammad Haji Cassum Agbotwala,
6. Haji Noor Mohd. Haji Jan Mohammad Latif,
7. Haji Tar Mahommed Haji Ebrahim Patel,
8. Haji Tar Mahomed Haji Adam,
9. Mohamed Abba Juma,
10. Abu Bakar Abdul Rahman Beg Mohammad,
11. Haji Ahmed Mohammad Bhimdiwalla,
12. Dost Mohamed Pir Mohammad,
13. Haji Yusuf Haji Ismail Sobhani,
14. Haji Mohammad Haji Ahmed Maniar,
15. S. R. Bomanji,
16. Chabildas Lakhmidas Bhimji.

Membership of Council

1. Sheriff Devji Canji,
2. Vithalbhai J. Patel.

Titles (Khan Saheb-ship)

1. Abba Haji Mohammad.

Service

1. Mushtaq Ahmed, an Urdu School Teacher, Municipal School, Bombay,
2. Kalidas Vasanji Dave, B.A., Secondary Teacher, Training College, Bombay,
3. R. S. Padbidri, Head Master, the Maratha High School,
4. Bhujangrao Sharma, Teacher, Marathi Municipal School, Chikalwadi,
5. Tulpule, fellow and lecturer of Wilson College, Bombay.

Suspension of Legal Practice

1. M. R. Jayakar, Bar-at-law (resumed practice in June 1922),
2. Jamnadas Madhavji Mehta,
3. Jehangir B. Patel.

Withdrawal of Candidature for Elections to the Bombay Legislative Council

1. Joseph Baptista,
2. Hansraj Pragji Thakersey,
3. Dr. M. B. Velkar,
4. Dr. D. D. Sathaye,

5. Dr. M. C. Javle,
6. Vithaldas Damodar Govindji, and
7. F. J. Ginwalla.

Withdrawal of Students from receiving Bombay University Scholarships

1. J. P. Bhansali.

Withdrawal of College Students

1. Raghunath Shivram Nimbkar of Sydenham College.

Withdrawal of Law Students

1. B. R. Modak, Law Student, Bombay,
2. V. G. Sirdeshmukh, Law Student, Bombay.

Preparations for the Calcutta Special Congress

It may be mentioned here that it was at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held on 30th May 1920 at Banares that the question of holding a *Special Session of the Congress* to consider the Non-co-operation programme of Mr. Gandhi was decided. The Central Khilafat Committee at its meeting in Bombay held on 10th August 1920 decided, among other things relating to the Khilafat, to hold the All-India Khilafat Conference at Calcutta on the occasion of the Special Sessions of the Congress there. The object of this Conference was evidently to *influence the Congress deliberations in favour of Non-Cooperation*. The Reception Committee of the Special Congress took the opportunity of inviting on this occasion six Members of Parliament and expressing its readiness to bear half of their actual expenses. At a meeting of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee held on the 15th August 1920 a resolution was passed *approving of the principle of Non-Co-operation* as a protest against Government's action in connection with the Punjab and the Khilafat and *leaving the Special Congress the construction of the programme to be based thereon*. This meeting also elected 67 delegates for the Congress. (For reference see paragraph 1184 (L)(c), dated 21st August 1920, of *Bombay Secret Abstract*).

In the meantime Gandhi and Shaukat Ali made a tour in Madras and other places to create a favourable atmosphere for the Calcutta Special Congress.

At a meeting held on August 18th 1920, by residents of Chatri Sarang Moholla Bombay, and attended by seven to eight hundred people, a *sub-committee to wait upon the title-holders* of Bombay for the purpose of persuading them to renounce their honours and to arrange a boycott for those for whom other forms of persuasion had no effect was appointed. This Sub-Committee, however, had little or no success.

Calcutta Special Congress—September 1920

The Special Session of the Indian National Congress was held in Calcutta in September 1920 under the presidency of Lala Lajpatrai to consider Mr. Gandhi's Non-co-operation programme. After a keen discussion the mass of the delegates who constituted Mr. Gandhi's following carried the day against the more cautious counsels of the intelligentsia. Non-co-operation was accepted in principle by a narrow but conclusive majority and a sub-committee was appointed to prepare draft instructions as to the exact operation of the campaign. The Congress advised:—

1. *The surrender of titles and* honorary offices and resignations from nominated seats in Local Bodies.

2. *Refusal to attend Government Levees*, Durbars and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials or in their honour.

3. *The gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges* owned, aided or controlled by Government and in place of such schools and colleges the establishment of national schools and colleges in various provinces.

4. *The gradual boycott of British courts* by lawyers and litigants and the establishment of private arbitration courts for the settlement of private disputes.

5. *Refusal of the military*, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits in Mesopotamia.

6. *Withdrawal by candidates* of their candidature for election to the Reformed Councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who might, despite the advice of the Congress, offer himself for election.

7. *The boycott of foreign goods*.

Position of Special Congress explained

In this connection Mr. Gandhi's article in *Young India*, dated 15th September 1920, is of interest. It is reproduced in paragraph 131 of *Bombay Secret Abstract*, dated 25th September 1920.

Young India, dated the 15th September 1920, has the following on the Congress by Gandhi (paragraph 1312) : " Never has the Congress been called upon to decide an issue so momentous as the one it was called upon to decide at its special session presided over by Lala Lajpatrai [paragraph 1301(b)]. Never perhaps has the Congress witnessed such determined opposition as was offered to the non-co-operation resolution. And yet, never, within my experience, has a decisive majority listened with such respect and attention to the opposition argument as it did at the last session. Again, never has there been such united opposition shown to a Subjects Committee resolution by the noted leaders of the people.

Mrs. Besant (paragraph 1271) has a fine record of service to India. Pandit Madan Malaviyaji [paragraph 1286 (h)] is a name to conjure with. He has to his credit an unbroken record of many years brilliant service to the country and an unblemished character. Mr. Das (paragraph 1287) leads a party ever growing in influence and strength. I felt the late Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak's absence most keenly at such a juncture. Mr. Baptista (paragraph 1298) led the Deccan. Mr. Kasturi Ranga Ayengar [paragraph 1286(A)], the talented editor of the Hindu, led the Madras Nationalists. All these and many other leaders strenuously opposed the non-co-operation resolution. I warned that great audience against accepting my proposal unless they were prepared to suffer and were convinced that true non-co-operation was possible only through the programme submitted by me. But the audience wanted action without suffering. The voting was elaborately registered. The Congress pandal was cleared for the voting. Lala Lajpatrai personally superintended the operation. It lasted for six hours. All the provinces but the Central Provinces and the Berars voted in favour of my resolution.

My resolution adopted the principle of the whole of the Khilafat Programme even non-payment of taxes, and advised for immediate adoption, boycott of titles and honorary offices, law courts by litigants, schools, colleges and reformed councils. Babu Bipin Chandra Pal [paragraph 1286 (h)] proposed a mission to England to present our demands and meanwhile to establish national schools, formulate arbitration courts and not to boycott the councils. His resolution.

would have meant in effect seeking election to the councils and then probably adopting obstructive tactics. This meant a virtual postponement of the real struggle to the next general election. The opposition therefore chiefly centred on the boycott of councils. And the Congress has decided by an overwhelming majority that the councils must be abandoned. I hope that those who do not believe that boycott of councils would postpone the attainment of Swarajya (let alone hastening it) will work with all their might to advance the purpose of the Congress.

An analysis of the votes shows that the country wants non co-operation. Mrs. Besant, who consistently, fearlessly and frankly opposed it, had very few adherents. I do not propose to examine the merits of the case at the present moment. My argument is before the country in favour of boycott of councils, schools and courts. Nothing I heard on the Congress platform has shaken my belief in the necessity and efficacy of these steps. But I would respectfully address a few words to the majority and to the minority.

To the majority I would say : The hour of the greatest triumph is the hour of the greatest humility. The majority has taken upon its shoulders a tremendous responsibility. Every voter in favour of my proposal has certainly bound himself, if he is a parent, to withdraw his children from schools and colleges subject in any way to Government control. Every voter being a lawyer is bound at the earliest opportunity to suspend his practice and promote the cause of settlement of disputes by private arbitration. Every candidate for the councils, who has voted with the majority, has undertaken to withdraw his candidature, every such voter to refrain from voting at the elections. Every delegate voting with the majority has bound himself to stimulate hand spinning and hand weaving and in his own person to use only hand spun and hand-woven cloth. Every one of the majority having accepted the principle of non-violence, self-sacrifice and discipline in regard to non-co-operation is bound to treat the minority with respect and fairness. We may not use physical or wordy violence against them. We must endeavour by our intensive practice and by scrupulously honourable methods to convert it to our views. Those who voted with the minority were either weak or not ready. Some few doubted-, the rightness of withdrawing children from schools, for instance. But when they see schools being emptied, national schools springing into being, lawyers suspending practice and yet not starving and the councils deserted, at least by the best Nationalists they will soon begin to believe in the programme, lose their weakness and be themselves ready to adopt it. We need not therefore be impatient with the minority because it does not see eye to eye with us.

To the minority I would say : They have lost in fair fight. Unless now therefore, it is a matter of conscience with them, they must come forward to prosecute the programme of non-co-operation in a most vigorous manner. Those who think that the majority has grievously erred are no doubt entitled to carry on a campaign of conversion of the majority to their views. By far the largest number in the minority however have accepted the principle of establishment of private arbitration courts and national schools. They wanted only a postponement of the consideration of the boycott of councils. I venture to suggest to them that now that the majority have decided in favour of a quicker pace, the minority should accept the verdict and help to make the programme a success.

Boycott of foreign goods finds a place in my programme. I am sorry for it. I may not say how it came to find a place there. But as it did not conflict with my conscience, and in order to show my reasonableness I undertook to move a resolution whose musical harmony was marred by a false note. Boycott of foreign cloth is included in Swadeshi. Boycott of all other foreign

goods is a senseless proposition if only because it is a virtual impossibility. But if the introduction of the addendum stimulates us to sacrifice our luxuries and superfluities, it would have served a good purpose. It is certainly our right and duty to discard everything foreign that is superfluous and even everything foreign that is *necessary* if we can-produce or manufacture it in our country."

After effects of Calcutta Special Congress Resolutions

On 19th September 1920 Baptista presided over a public meeting attended by about 500 persons convened to consider the Calcutta Special Congress Resolution on Non-co-operation. The Chief speakers, Kelkar, Karandikar, Dr. Sathaye and Dr. Velkar, *expressed their determination to abide by the Calcutta decisions.*

Withdrawal of candidature for election to Councils

The Bombay Chronicle of the 20th September 1920 published the *Congress Democratic Party's Manifesto* giving the names of candidates for elections for the various Legislative Councils who withdrew their candidature in response to the Calcutta Resolutions.

Congress Democratic Party's Manifesto

We, the undersigned candidates for election to the various Legislative Councils, while disapproving the boycott of Councils, resolved to withdraw our candidature in order to maintain the dignity and prestige of the Congress and to promote Hindu-Moslem unity, objects which we consider more important than working the Reforms for what they are worth. We withdraw our candidature as members of the Congress Democratic Party and in pursuance of the resolution passed at the meeting of the party held at Sardargriha on the 19th September 1920.

(1) Joseph Baptista (University Electorate), (2) D. D. Sathaye (Bombay Legislative Assembly), (3) R. P. Karandikar (Legislative Assembly, Central Division), (4) N. C. Kelkar (Legislative Council, Bombay), (5) M. B. Velkar (Legislative Council, Bombay, Southern Division), (6) F. G. Ginwala [paragraph 1213(c), Legislative Council, Bombay], (7) V. M. Pawar (paragraph 1107, Legislative Council, Bombay, Northern Division), (8) C. V. Vaidya [paragraph 1260 (b), Indian Legislative Assembly], (9) V. M. Kale, (Central Provinces Legislative Council, Buldhana, Berar), (10) M. S. Aney (Indian Legislative Assembly, Berar), (11) J. M. Mehta [paragraph 1260 (b), Bombay Legislative Council, Thana District], (12) R. C. Soman [paragraph (0) *supra*, Bombay Legislative Council, Satara District], (13) L. M. Deshpande [paragraph (0) *supra*, Bombay Legislative Council, Satara District], (14) K. N. Kaduskar (Bombay Legislative Council, Satara District), (15) M. C. Javle [paragraph 1161 (b), Bombay Legislative Council, Bombay City], (16) B. B. Pimplikar (Legislative Council, Central Provinces, Malkapur), (17) Narayan Ramji Gunjal [paragraph (m) *supra*, Poona District, Reserved Maratha Seat), (18) Hansraj Pragji Thakarsey (paragraph 902, Indian Merchants Chamber and Bureau, Bombay Legislative Council), (19) K. B. Joshi [paragraph 1213 (d), Ratnagiri District, Bombay Legislative Council], (20) M. R. Ranade (paragraph 871, Thana District, Bombay Legislative Council), (21) T. V. Khare (Berar Industry and Commerce), (22) J. K. Asnare (Central Provinces and Berar Legislative Council, Amraoti).

Further withdrawals.

The following gentlemen, also members of the Congress Democratic Party, have expressed by letters or by wires their resolve to withdraw their candidatures:

(1) Honourable Mr. D. V. Belvi [paragraph 1161 (c) Belgaum, Legislative Assembly, S. D.], (2) Mr. V. B. Chaukar (paragraph 1128, Nagar, Legislative Council), (3) S. V. Kowjalgi [paragraph (n) (*supra*) Bijapur, Legislative Council, Bombay], (4) Mr. W. V. Dastane (paragraph 1070, Bhusawal Legislative Council, Bombay), (5) Mr. P. G. Joshi (Erondole, Legislative Council, Bombay), (6) Mr. Shioballappa H. Deshmukh (paragraph 1070 Sholapur, Legislative Council, Bombay), (7) Mr. N. N. Sutavani (Nasik), (8) Mr. Nargundappa Shetti (paragraph 1070, Athani), (9) Mr. H. G. Damle (Wun, Berar), (10) Mr. M. R. Shitole [paragraph 1232 (d), Akluj, Sholapur], (11) Mr. H. V. Kolhatpur (paragraph 871, Jalgaon), (12) Mr. D., A. Mohite (Thana), (13) Mr. V. R. Date (paragraph 1070, Jamner), (14) Dr. N. B. Khare (Nagpur), (15) Mr. Nilkantrao Deshmukh (Wardha, C.P.) (16) Mr. P. M. Bildikar (Pachora), (17) Mr. R. G. Khadkikar [paragraph 1232 (d)], (Sholapur), (18) Mr. K. P. Khadilkar [paragraph 1181 (d), (Poona), (19) Mr. G. B. Deshpande [paragraph 1286 (d), Belgaum], (20) Mr. N. K. Vaidya (Nagpur), (21) Dr. K. G. Lohakare [paragraph 1232 (g)] (22) Mr. Hiralal Ramlal Naik [pragraph (m) *Supra*, (Poona), (23) Mr. N. R. Gosavi [paragraph 1232 (c), Kulaba] (24) Mr. Bapoosaheb Phadke (paragraph 871, Thana), (Secretary, S. D.).

Note.—Advance copy forwarded to Home Department, Secretary, S.D.

(t) S.B., *Bombay Presidency, Poona, September 25th.*—The following is an extract from the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated the 21st September 1920 :—

If the world is to be convinced that India refuses to accept paltry gifts and that she has set her heart on full Swarajya and that she is firmly resolved to win her way to it, the elections must be altogether boycotted. No one should take any part in them. The country must ignore the elections altogether. Democrats and Congressmen should take up non-co-operation in right earnest and carry on a vigorous propaganda throughout the country for a complete boycott of the elections.

Note.—Will all Deputy Superintendents of Police please keep an eye on this movement and report any developments of interest that may occur ? (S.B., Bombay Presidency, Poona.)

Boycott of Reformed Councils urged

The Sub-Committee appointed at the Special Session of the Calcutta Congress to prepare draft instructions October 1920 as to the exact operation of the campaign appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle* of September 28th, 1920; the Sub-Committee advised—"An immediate start is to be made under all heads of Calcutta Programme but for the time being *attention is to be largely concentrated upon the Boycott of the Councils.*"

(s) *Bombay City, September 28th.*—1. The report of the Congress Sub-Committee of Gandhi [paragraph (r) (*supra*)], Motilal Nehru [paragraph (d) (*supra*)], and V. J. Patel [paragraph (r) (*supra*)], appointed to make recommendations for starting non-co-operation appears in to-day's *Chronicle*. (It has been published in the Press, Secretary, S.D.). An immediate start is to be made under all heads of the authorised programme, but for the time being attention is to be largely concentrated upon the boycott of the Councils. Social pressure is the weapon with which the scheme is to be enforced.

Appended to this report is a note of dissent by V. J. Patel, which draws attention to serious mis-statement on fundamental issues contained in the report, which he himself signed; and drawing attention to the divided councils which already exist in the inner ring of the non-co-operators. Gandhi has simultaneously issued a manifesto to voters calling upon them to have nothing to do with the new Councils; and the Home Rule League, of which he is the President, has issued a manifesto to the same effect. Copies of these documents are attached, marked 'A' and 'B'.

Gandhi on " Duty of Voters "

Mr. Gandhi at this time issued a manifesto to voters calling upon them to have nothing to do with the new Councils. The Home Rule League also issued a manifesto to the same effect. (For full text of the manifesto please refer to paragraph 1339(S) accompaniments 'A' and 'B' of *Bombay Secret Abstract* dated 2nd October 1920, Appendix IV.)

ACCOMPANIMENT ' A '

The duty of voters

The Special Session of the Congress by an overwhelming majority has decided in favour of complete boycott of the Reformed Councils. It is, therefore, your duty *not to vote for any candidate for election* to the Reformed Council. It is however necessary for any candidate who wishes to stand in your name to know that you do not wish him or anybody else to represent you, For that purpose you should sign the form that has been prepared for your signature. It is your duty also to tell your co-voters what they should do.

You know why it is wrong to enter the Councils. The Government have declined to grant justice to the Punjab. British Ministers have broken their pledged word to the Musalmans and otherwise ignored the deepest Musalman sentiments regarding the Khilafat.

We must get these wrongs righted, and in order to prevent a recurrence of such injustice of bad faith we must obtain full *Swaraj* and must get rid of the badge of inferiority. We cannot do this by going to the Councils, nor can we gain *Swaraj* by going there. On the contrary although our representatives may vote against unjust Government measures, they will still be regarded as authors of those measures and thus be unwilling instruments of injustice. The best way therefore for conserving our honour, hastening advent of *Swaraj* and righting those wrongs is for the voters not to send any representatives to the Councils.

All-India Home Rule League,
Masjid Bunder Road,
Mandvi, Bombay.

M. K. GANDHI.

ACCOMPANIMENT ' B '

To

The President and Secretaries,
Branch Home Rule League.

Dear Sirs,

In accordance with the Resolution passed at the general meeting of the All-India Home Rule League at Calcutta, we beg to send the following instructions for carrying out the Non-co-operation Resolution passed by the Special Session of the Congress:

All Branches of the All-India Home Rule League are requested in accordance with its objects to enforce the non-co-operation resolution of the Special Session of the Congress in so far as it advises action on the part of the people. And with a view to effective action all the branches are for the time being requested to concentrate their attention for the next two months principally upon complete *boycott of the reformed Councils*. For that purpose all the branches are requested to canvass signatures on the following form on the part of the voters:—

" In view and in virtue of the resolution of the Special Session of the National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, we, being voters in the electoral district of for election to the reformed Councils, hereby place on record our desire that we do not wish to be represented at the Provincial Legislative Council (or the Legislative Assembly or the Council of State) and hereby inform all candidates for election that if they seek election in spite of our wish to the contrary they will not represent us. We do not desire to be represented in the reformed Councils till justice has been granted in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab and *Swaraj* is established in India."

Too much stress cannot be laid on the fact that before the signatures are taken the voters should be made to understand clearly what they are doing. No pressure of any kind should be exercised upon the voters. Candidates too should be requested to withdraw their candidature in obedience to the expressed wish of the voters, wherever more than half the number of voters have signified their wish in writing.

Further instructions as to the other items adopted by the Congress for immediate enforcement will be forwarded in due course.

M. K. GANDHI,
President.
Umar Sobani,
Jawaharlal Nehru [paragraph 1126(b)]
C. Raja Gopalachari,
General Secretaries,
All-India Home Rule League.

Failure of the plan for National Education

At this time an effort was made to establish a national educational Society in Mandvi at the instance of Chotani and others; but the efforts did not materialise.

All India Congress Committee meeting in Bombay October 1920

The All-India Congress Committee was held in Bombay under the presidency of Pandit Motilal Nehru on October 2nd, 1920. Attendance was 35 only. The important business done was the *adoption in substance of the report of the Sub-Committee* appointed at the Calcutta Special Congress referred to above. Mr. V. J. Patel's dissenting minute was repudiated by Gandhi at this meeting [paragraph 1359 (4) of 9th October 1920 and paragraph 1430 (33). *Bombay Secret Abstract*, dated 30th October 1920—Appendix V].

INSTRUCTIONS ON NON-CO-OPERATION

The All-India Congress Committee, after considering the report of the SubCommittee appointed at Calcutta on 9th September to draft instructions to carry out the resolution of the Congress on non-co-operation, and Mr. Patel's note, resolved to issue the following instructions :—

Calcutta Special Congress Resolution

In view of the fact that on the Khilafat question both the Indian and Imperial Governments have signally failed in their duty towards the Mussal-mans of India, and the Prime Minister has deliberately broken his pledged word given to them, and that it is the duty of every non-Moslem Indian in every legitimate manner to assist his Mussalman brother in his attempt to remove the religious calamity that has overtaken him.

And in view of the fact that in the matter of the events of April 1919 both the said Governments have grossly neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Punjab and punish officers guilty of unsoldierly and barbarous behaviour towards them and have exonerated Sir Michael O'Dwyer who proved himself directly or indirectly responsible for most of the official crimes and callous to the sufferings of the people placed under his administration, and that the Debate in the House of Commons and specially in the House of Lords betrayed a woeful lack of sympathy with the people of India and showed virtual support of the systematic terrorism and frightfulness adopted in the Punjab, and that the latest Viceregal pronouncement is proof of an entire absence of repentance in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab.

This Congress is of opinion that there can be no contentment in India without the redress of the two aforementioned wrongs and that the only effectual means to vindicate national honour and to prevent a repetition of similar wrongs in future is the establishment of *Swarajya*. This Congress is further of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive non-violent Non-Co-operation inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi until the said wrongs are righted and *Swarajya* is established.

And inasmuch as a beginning should be made by the classes who have hitherto moulded and represented public opinion, and inasmuch as Government consolidates its power through titles and honours bestowed on the people, through schools controlled by it, its law-courts and its Legislative Councils, and inasmuch as it is desirable in the prosecution of the movement to take the minimum risk and to call for the least sacrifice compatible with the attainment of the desired object, this Congress earnestly advises—

(a) surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in local bodies;

(b) refusal to attend Government levees, durbars and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials or in their honour;

(c) gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government and in place of such schools and colleges establishment of national schools and colleges in the various provinces;

(d) gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants and establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid for the settlement of private disputes;

(e) refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia;

(f) withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the reformed Councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may, despite the Congress advice, offer himself for election;

(g) boycott of foreign goods.

And inasmuch as non-co-operation has been conceived as a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice without which no nation can make real progress, and inasmuch as an opportunity should be given in the very first stage of non-cooperation to every man, woman and child for such discipline and self-sacrifice, this Congress advises adoption of *Swadeshi* in piece-goods on a vast scale, and inasmuch as the existing mills of India with indigenous capital and control do not manufacture sufficient yarn and sufficient cloth for the requirements of the nation, and are not likely to do so for a long time to come, this Congress advises immediate stimulation of further manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving hand-spinning in every home and hand-weaving on the part of the millions of weavers who have abandoned their ancient and honourable calling for want of encouragement.

INSTRUCTIONS TO CARRY OUT THE RESOLUTION

(a)*Boycott of titles.*—Workers in every town, taluqa and district should compile a list of such holders of titles and honorary offices and a small deputation of the leading non-co-operationists should wait upon such holders and with all respect and humility urge upon them the necessity of surrendering their titles and honorary offices for the good of the country. No undue pressure of any kind whatsoever should be exercised. Violence of language should be scrupulously avoided, and lists of those who have not surrendered their titles and offices should be furnished to the provincial head-quarters for publication. Those who have already surrendered their titles and honorary offices will be expected to induce others to do likewise. Those who hold such titles and offices and who have voted for non-co-operation are naturally expected immediately to surrender their titles and offices, mentioning the purpose, viz., the resolution of the Congress.

(b)*Boycott of Government functions.*—(1) Deputations and public meetings to ask Durbaris to have their names removed from the list. (2) Deputations and public meetings to be organised on the occasion of a levee, Durbar or such other function in order to urge upon persons likely to attend them the necessity of abandoning the idea for the good of the country. (3) When any function is being organised by Government, local body, association or any private individual in honour of an officer of government, similar steps should be taken to induce people not to attend such a function. Deputations and public meetings should also be organised to request local bodies, associations or private individuals not to give any address to any officer of Government or hold or organise any function in his honour.

(c)*Boycott of schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by the Government.*—We advise gradual withdrawal of boys and girls from schools and colleges and earnest attempts to establish national institutions. Meanwhile reliance should be placed upon private education and, where even that is not available or possible for want of means, boys should be apprenticed to patriotic merchants or artisans. Vigorous propaganda should be organised and carried on amongst the parents, school-masters and school-boys who are over the age of 18 years. Canvassing should go on for volunteer teachers, and where parents and school-masters of schools other than those under direct Government control agree, those schools should give immediate notice to the Government dispensing with all control or aid by way of inspection or otherwise.

They should be conducted as national schools with such modifications in the training as local circumstances may require. If men of education take interest in this movement of truly nationalising our education, local committees of inspection and guidance may be formed ultimately resulting in provincial or district universities. Lists of parents who have withdrawn their children, or boys who have themselves withdrawn and of school-masters who have resigned, and lists of local schools established as also of volunteer teachers should be sent to the provincial head-quarters and should be published.

(N.B.—By " a National institution " is meant any educational institution "that does not receive any aid from Government, is not in any way controlled or inspected by Government and is not affiliated to any University established by Government.)

(d)*Boycott of Law Courts*.—Those lawyers who suspend practice and who require to be supported should be supported by the nation either by utilizing their services for national schools or in connection with private arbitration or for propaganda work. A deputation such as has been suggested for holders of titles, etc., should also wait upon lawyers and ascertain their wishes. Lists of lawyers in each town or district should be prepared marking out those who may suspend their practice and forwarded to the provincial head-quarters for publication.

Lawyers should help in inducing parties not only to refer future disputes to arbitration but also to withdraw cases now pending in the British Courts and submit them to the National Arbitration Courts.

District Committees should make lists of lawyers and other prominent citizens commanding public confidence who are to preside over Arbitration Courts. As there is at present no machinery to enforce the orders of Arbitration Courts, some kind of social boycott should be imposed on parties who fail to carry out such orders.

It has been pointed out that certain lawyers who are ready and willing to suspend their practice immediately are not in a position to do so completely at a moment's notice as they have already entered into engagements from which as honourable men they cannot withdraw without the consent of their clients. In these cases the lawyers will be expected to attend only to such engagements and to make every endeavour to cease to practise completely at the earliest possible date.

(e)*Boycott of Councils*.—The boycott of Councils being of immediate importance, it requires the greatest concentration of energy to make it as complete as possible. Candidates who have already come forward should be approached by deputations requesting them to withdraw their candidature and the electors should be approached to sign the following form:—

" In view and in virtue of the resolution of the Special Session of the National Congress and the All-India Moslem League we, being voters in the electoral district of for election to the re-formed Councils, hereby place on record our desire that we do not wish to be represented at the Provincial Legislative Council (or the Legislative Assembly or the Council of State) and hereby inform all candidates for election that if they seek election in spite of our wishes to the contrary, they will not represent us. We do hereby declare further that we do not desire to be represented on any legislative bodies until full 'Swaraj' is established, which alone can make impossible the repetition of the Punjab atrocities and breach of solemn pledges as in the matter of the ' Khilafat'."

Lists of those who have withdrawn their candidature and those who persist should be forwarded to the provincial head-quarters. Greatest care should be taken to put the *pros* and *cons* before the voters prior to asking them to sign the abovementioned form, which should be translated in the vernacular of the district concerned.

(f) *Recruiting for Labour etc., for Mesopotamia*.—Propaganda should be carried on by workers among those who are likely to offer themselves for such services, placing before them the true situation and then letting them make their choice.

(g) *Boycott of foreign goods*.—Every non-co-operator is in duty bound to simplify his or her wants and dispense with all luxuries that are dependent on the use of foreign articles.

(h) *Swadeshi*.—We attach great importance to Swadeshi in the form of revival of hand-spinning and hand-weaving and distribution of cloth so manufactured. Thousands of workers need special training for this work. Ladies of high station especially should be induced to take up hand-spinning and to use only such cloth as can be woven out of hand-spun yarn. Classes should be formed in every street. Spinning wheels can be manufactured by any ordinary carpenter. Those taking up this branch of work should communicate with the manager of Satyagrahashram, Sabarmati, near Ahmedabad.

In order to advance the cause of Swadeshi and to check the importation of foreign cloth, deputations should wait on Indian mill-owners with a view to securing reduction of the present high prices.

(i) *Swaraj Fund*.—It is very necessary that a National Fund should be established for the purpose of carrying into effect the Congress resolution. Funds will be required for propaganda work, for encouraging Swadeshi, for establishing national schools and for supporting lawyers who have suspended their practice and are unable to support themselves. Provincial Congress Committees with the help of district and other organisations should therefore make every endeavour to collect funds and submit monthly reports of receipts and expenditure to the All-India Congress Committee.

(j) *Volunteer Corps*.—Provincial, District and Town organisations should form volunteer corps for the purpose of disciplining the people and maintaining order.

(k) *Finally*, we would advise that where there is a sufficient number of workers a batch should specialise in order to make one particular item successful. Where the workers are not sufficient, precedence should be given to the boycott of Councils because results must be shown in this item of non-co-operation before the middle of December next.

Bandra (Bombay),
18th October 1920.

V. J. PATEL,
Joint General Secretary.

Agitation for boycott of Councils

During the first week of October 1920 an unusual amount of political activity to advance the cause of Non-co-operation was noticed. Placards had been posted up in large numbers *urging the people to have nothing to do with the Council elections* and requesting them to sign the declaration forms saying that the people did not desire at all to be represented in the reformed Councils until justice was done in the matter of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs.

The Central Committee published *Gujarati and Urdu leaflets urging Muham' madans to act in the same way in the name of religion*. The Indian Merchants-chamber and Bureau also decided at this time to join the non-co-operation movement and out of the total membership of 500, one half had agreed to sign a requisition asking the Chamber to declare *in favour of the Boycott of Councils*.

*Non-Co-operation and Khilafat developments up to mid-day,
Tuesday, 5th October 1920*

I. *The Progress of Non-co-operation*.—(1) An unusual amount of political activity has been crammed into the week. The following is a list of its various public meetings and other functions devoted to the cause of non-co-operation :

September 26th	Nanabhai Upadhya's [paragraph 646 (i)] meeting at Mandvi.
September 29th	Public lecture by Satyade [paragraph (26) <i>supra</i>] at Shantaram's Chawl. Meeting on the maidan of the Hindu volunteers.
September 30th	Lecture by Satyadev at Mandvi. Chotani's [paragraph 1339 (s)] meeting at Mandvi to establish National Education Society.
October 2nd	Muslim Velori's [paragraph 1319 (f)] meeting of Muhammadan workmen at Poibawda.
Meeting of the All-India Congress Committee.	
October 3rd	Gandhi's meeting of mill-hands and other working men. General meeting of All-India Home Rule League.
October 4th	Arrival from Europe of the Khilafat deputation. Public meeting at Mastan Tank to welcome the deputation. Adjourned meeting of All-India Home Rule League.

Short notes of all these functions, except two, are attached marked " A ". The Congress and Home Rule meetings are described separately.

(2) Many members of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and ' Bureau have decided to join in the non-co-operation movement. Out of the total membership of 500, one-half have agreed to sign a requisition asking the Chamber to declare in favour of boycott of the Councils.

A Gujarati leaflet signed by Chandulal Jamnadas Shet of 50, Churchgate Street, is being circulated among the members of the Chamber. It calls upon all to cease co-operation with Government and to boycott the Councils. As the following extract will show the author uses strong language:—

" How can you, if you have the slightest sense of self-respect, co-operate with a Government whose representatives shower on you atrocities, and under whose shelter the modesty and reputation of our wives and daughters are not safe ? Do you want to be reminded of the " Devil Acts " perpetrated last April by the officers infatuated with the power of the Punjab ? Can you forget from your hearts the place of butchery of the Jhallianwala Baug ? Can you drive away for a moment from your eyes the wrongs committed with your brothers and sisters in the Punjab? Can you try to forget the inhuman conduct of Dyer, O'Brien and Smith towards your women? And in spite of these atrocities, the deeds of the tyrants are defended in the ' Mother of Parliaments', the great representative body of the world, from whom we had high hopes of getting justice and the tyrants remain in the

service of Government which is not prepared to repent for the devil deeds. Do you hope to get justice from such a Government ? "

(3) Contemplated meeting to express sympathy with Zafar Ali Khan [paragraph (5) *supra*] was abandoned, ostensibly on account of Shaukat Ali's absence from Bombay, but really because of differences of opinion in the C. K. C. as to the dignity of a non-co-operator squealing when he is hurt.

(4) Placards have been posted up in large numbers urging the people to have nothing to do with the Council elections and requesting them to sign the declaration forms with which the volunteers are now canvassing in all parts of Bombay. A copy of the form is attached marked "C". The C. K. C. has also published in Gujarati and Urdu leaflets urging Muhammadans to act in the same way but in the name of religion. Rough translations of these leaflets are attached marked "D".

(5) Krishna Kant Malaviya, son of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has resigned his membership of the C. K. C. on the ground that he is going to seek election to the new Councils

(6) Efforts are being made by the more impatient of the Khilafat workers, and particularly by Muslim Velori and Moulvi Abdul Majid [paragraph 1319(f)] to induce the C. K. C. to loose upon title holders the deputation appointed some time ago for that purpose of inducing them to relinquish their honours. For some reason unexplained, Shaukat Ali and Chotani refuse at present to countenance this manoeuvre.

(7) The introduction of political matter into Waizin's sermons during the Muharram has already been noted, together with the C. K. C.'s connection therewith. It has now been ascertained that at the beginning of the Muharram a meeting of 70 or 80 of the Waizin was called by the C. K. C. and carefully instructed as to the line of political reference their sermons should take.

II. *Movements*.—(1) Syed Ismail Ghaznavi [paragraph 1238(m)] is at present on tour in the N. W. F. P. ostensibly inspecting the accounts of the Khilafat Committees.

(2) Gandhi, Shaukat Ali, Mahomed Ali [paragraph (16) *supra*] and possibly the rest of the returned Khilafat deputation are expected to leave Bombay on the 6th for Lucknow, whence they will go on to Moradabad for the U. P. Conference to be held in the near future, afterwards touring through the U. P. a visit to Madras is also in contemplation.

III. *Islamic*.—(1) *Hijrat*.—Shaukat Ali has received from Gul Mahomed [paragraph 1264(m)], the Afghan envoy to Simla, a letter of which a copy is attached (not typed). Advance copy was sent to the D. C. I. by Commissioner of Police.

(2) The Anjuman-i-Islam of Vryburgh, South Africa, through its Secretary, Mahomed Ibrahim, has forwarded to the Secretary a cheque for fourteen Pounds.

(3) Moulvi Mahomed Salamat Ulla [paragraph 1339(s)] of the Firangi Mahal has suggested to Shaukat Ali that all Islamia Arabic schools should be temporarily closed in order that the scholars may be used for purposes of propaganda.

(4) A curious letter, of which the following is the substance, has reached Shaukat Ali from one Najumddin Ahmed of Meerut :—

" Different kinds of voices are reaching my ears. Kindly go to Aligarh and estimate your power before making any effort in regard to the college. It is an admitted fact that the effect of it would be visible in the whole of India. It is necessary to inform you."

(5) A scheme for the creation of a new pan-Islamic organisation based upon India has reached the C. K. C. anonymously from Intally, Calicut. It is described in the memorandum of which a copy is attached marked " F ". It comprises a permanent committee in India ; a central fund ; a journal in Arabic, Urdu and English, equipped with *patriotic* correspondents in all Islamic countries ; annual conferences of Ulemas, to be held in each of these countries in turn ; and an extensive publicity propaganda in the Hedjaz. The final paragraph of the memorandum is worth noting.

(6) Owing to the C. K. C. objections to its present description, the Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Khilafat is in future to be called the Anjuman-i-Khuddara-ul-Islam.

On the 10th October 1920 a meeting of the Bombay Native Piece—goods merchants decided by a majority to boycott the 'Councils' as candidates and voters.

For a month more the non-co-operation propaganda for the boycott of Councils continued by way of holding public meetings. At one of these meetings Dr. D. D. Sathaye and Dr. N. D. Savarkar addressed the mill-hands (about 500) advising them not to vote for anybody standing for the Reformed Councils. [Paragraph 1406(34) of *Bombay Secret Abstract*, dated 23rd October 1920].

Bombay City, October 19th—Non-co-operation and Khilafat situation upto 5 p.m. Tuesday, 19th October 1920

I. *Boycott of Councils.*—(a) On the 13th instant a deputation headed by Ahmed Chotani [paragraph 492(j)] waited on the high priest of the Daudi Boras and asked him to secure the withdrawal by Messrs. Barodawalla and Haveliwalla of their candidature for the new Councils. The Mullaji replied that he never interfered in politics. Their failure so incensed the Khilafatists that they have decided not to send a representative to *Neemuch* to bring about the settlement of the dispute between the Sunnis and Boras there. With the same object the *Sanj Vartaman* and the *Akhbar-i-Islam* have also attempted to put pressure upon the high priest, opening their columns to threats that refusal on his part would further strain the relations between the Sunnis and Boras.

(b) Baptista (paragraph 1394) has wired as follows to Khaparde [paragraph 1286(h)].—

" As President of Congress Democratic Party and Indian Home Rule League I request you withdraw your candidature."

(c) At a meeting of volunteers on the 13th instant S. G. Banker [paragraph 1382 (25)] complained of their slackness in procuring signatures to the boycott forms and urged them to further exertions.

II. *National Education.*—(a) W. S. Mukadam [paragraph 21 (*supra*)], Secretary of the Godhra Home Rule League, has asked the Ali Brothers to induce the individual members of the Godhra Municipality to back up the local School Board's recommendations not to accept for the Municipal schools any Government funds or supervision.

(b) About 75 students of the " Babu Pannalal Jain High School", Bombay, have applied to the Trustees to sever the institution's connections with Government.

(c) Aquil-ul Rahman Nadvi of Saharanpur, writing to the Central Khilafat Committee, recommends that students should not be withdrawn from their schools till December next, when the term for which fees have already been paid will end.

(d) The Central Khilafat Committee is divided as to the policy to be followed in regard to the new National Schools. One party, headed by Chotani, the Ali Brothers and Dr. Kitchlew (paragraph 1317), wish to see Hindu and Muhammadan children educated together in every National School, while Abul Kalam Azad [paragraph (8) *supra*], Abdul Bari [paragraph 1332 (25)] and other orthodox Muslims insist on segregation so that Muslim children may be educated on strictly theological principles.

A similar meeting was addressed under Dr. D. D. Sathaye's presidency in the second week of November [paragraph 1491(29) of *Bombay Secret Abstract*, dated 20th November 1920].

Bombay City, November 15th.—A public meeting of the residents of the locality, called De Lisle Road, was held in the Saibu Kumbar's Chawls, next door to the "Shiv Hermitage", the residence of Dr. Navalkar, under the presidentship of Dr. D. D. Sathaye [paragraph 1406 (34)] for the purpose of explaining to those residents what the Congress resolution on "Non-co-operation" meant, and especially to keep them informed as to the necessity of not giving their votes to the candidates for the Legislative Council, much more of not themselves standing as such candidates. The proceedings commenced at 8-30 p.m. before an assembly of about 2,000 persons, who were gathered at the instance of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and the Bombay Congress Democratic Party. The usual arguments were employed.

A large majority of the students absented themselves from the Wilson College when it reopened on the 10th—a fact which is ascribed to feeling against compulsory Bible study, rather than to political motives. Only about 25 of the students appear to have withdrawn from the college in pursuance of non-co-operation. On the 15th, however, about 500 of them attended a meeting presided over by Jinvala and protested against the attitude of the College Authorities to scripture teaching.

On the 14th instant a students' meeting attended by about 1,000 students and four times that number of outsiders was addressed by Gandhi [paragraph (28) *supra*], Shaukat Ali [paragraph (24) *supra*], Satbaye and others on the subject of non-co-operation. At Gandhi's instance, Nimbkar [paragraph 1450 (33)] publicly expressed regret at having broken up Mrs. Besant's recent meetings.

The Divali illuminations were disappointing this year though it is not easy to say that part of this result was produced by Gandhi's exhortations. On the 13th instant Gandhi visited the Mulji Jetha Cloth Market, where he is said to have received promises of a lakh and a quarter of rupees for his fund. On the 14th 150 volunteers went out in procession, and raised another Rs. 2,000.

The following exchange of telegrams have taken place between Girdharlal of Amritsar and Gandhi:—

From Girdharlal :—

"Home Rule Conference fixed 19th-21st November. Seditious "Meetings Act applied Amritsar City. Should obey postpone or break and hold Conference. Wire your and Pandit Motilalji's opinion. Lajpatrai and Kitchlew in favour."

Gandhi's reply :—

"Obey order prohibition. Motilalji not here. Inform Lajpatrai others."

On November 18, a Mahomedan meeting was held for the purpose of denouncing those Muslims who stood for election to the new Councils. Baptista presided over An attendance of 5,000 Moslems of the poorer classes. Maulvi Abdul Majid asked his audience whether any one of them was ready to risk imprisonment for six months for cutting off the noses of the offending candidates. In the first week of December the Central Khilafat Committee issued a Gujarati handbill calling upon the Mahomedan communities concerned to enforce, a social boycott against the four Mahomedan members who entered the new Legislative Council.

As a result of the agitation following on the Resolution of the Calcutta Special Congress, the following candidates withdrew their candidature for elections to the Bombay Legislative Council:—

1. Joseph Baptista,
2. Hansraj Pragji Thakersi,
3. Dr. M. B. Velkar,
4. Dr. D. D. Sathaye,
5. Dr. M. C. Javle,
6. Vithaldas Damodar Govindji, and
7. F. J. Ginwalla.

The following Moderates however took part in the elections:—

1. Mr. N. M. Dumasia,
2. Mr. C. A. Fernandez,
3. Mr. K. E. Dadachanji,
4. Mr. A. M. Surve,
5. Dr. S. S. Batliwalla,
6. S. K. Bole,
7. Ebrahim Suleman Haji, and
8. Mahomed Hoosein Haveliwalla.

The staunch nationalists abstained from the elections in obedience to the Congress mandate so far as Bombay City was concerned and about 12,000 voters has signed the form disowning the representation of the candidates who entered the Councils.

Home Rule League turned into Non-co-operation Body

After the death of Tilak and particularly after the Special Congress at Calcutta Mr. Gandhi began to wield greater influence in Bombay and in his zeal to be the father of the Non-co-operation movement he was able to change the name of the All-India Home Rule League into " Swaraj Sabha " as well as the constitution of the League. Even influential persons of the Home Rule League, such as Messrs. Jinnah and Jayakar, were also defied by him when they opposed him in changing the constitution of the League. The new constitution deliberately omitted any reference to the British connection in clause (2) (i) which laid down the goal of the Home Rule League, and clause (2) (ii) thereof was clearly *permissive of unconstitutional and illegal activities*. The result was that Messrs. Jinnah, Jayakar and others immediately resigned and Mr. Gandhi with the help of his followers carried the day in an autocratic manner. (For details see paragraph 1382 of *Bombay Secret Abstract* dated 9th October 1920 and paragraph 1382 of *Bombay Secret Abstract* dated 15th October 1920).

PROTEST AGAINST CHANGE OF CONSTITUTION

Mr. Jinnah and 19 Others Resign

The following letter, dated Bombay, 5th October 1920 has been addressed to the President, Swaraj Sabha, the All-India Home Rule League:—

Dear Sir,

We, the undersigned members of the League, are of opinion that the constitution adopted by the League in its general meeting held in the Morarji Goculdas Hall on the 3rd instant constitutes a fundamental departure from the aims, objects and methods of work hitherto pursued by the League. The new constitution deliberately omits any reference to the British connection in clause 2(1) which lays down the goal of the League, and clause 2(2) thereof is clearly permissive of unconstitutional and illegal activities provided they are peaceful and effective. We are further of opinion that these changes in the constitution were made by adopting a procedure contrary to the rules and regulations of the League. We venture to say that your ruling aiming at validating the said procedure was both incorrect and arbitrary. We hold to the ideals and methods embodied in the Congress constitution, and we further believe that a body like the League, affiliated as it is to the Indian National Congress must restrict itself to methods of work which are considered by the Indian National Congress as constitutional.

Anxious as we are to assist the league in its mission of strengthening and furthering the cause of the Indian National Congress, we regret that owing to the radical alterations recently made in its constitution we are unable to remain any longer members of that League.

We, therefore, with great sorrow tender our resignation of our membership of the League, and of such offices thereof as may be held at present by any of us.

We remain,
Yours faithfully,

(Signed) M. A. Jinnah.
M. R. Jayakar (paragraph 1360).
N. T. Master.
Gulabchand Devchand.
Jamnadas M. Mehta [Paragraph 1359(24)].
Chotubhai A. Vakil
Hansraj Pragji Thakersey [Paragraph 1316(s)].
Mangaldas M. Pakvasa.
Chandrashanker N. Pandya.
N. B. Vibhakar.
Manilal D. Nanavaty.
V. M. Pakvasa.
K.M. Munshi (Paragraph 1360).
H. D. Divatia (Paragraph 1360).
Jamnadas Dwarkadas.
Kanji Dwarkadas.
R.G. Munshif. Hiralal D. Nanavati.
M. K. Azad [Paragraphs 1359(41) and 1184(1)]. Morarji

M. Kamdar.

Extract from the *Times of India*, dated the 11th October 1920.

Soon after this the Swaraj Sabha began to identify itself fully with non-co-operation activities. The chief activity of this Swaraj Sabha was the establishment of the National Schools in Bombay.

Non-co-operation and National Education or boycott of Schools and Colleges

Towards the end of October 1920 two public meetings were held in Bombay to seduce the students from the schools and colleges attended by them. At the first meeting held on 26th October 1920 under the auspices of the Young Nationalists League 300 students were exhorted by Gandhi, Shaukat Ali and R. S. Nimbkar to follow the example of the Aligarh College students. At the second meeting over which Pandit Motilal Nehru presided and at which 200 students attended, resolutions were passed congratulating the students of Aligarh upon their adherence to the new movement and appointing a Committee for the purpose of starting a scheme of National Education in Bombay. (This scheme however fell through). At this time Mr. Gandhi also addressed a letter to the students of the Wilson College urging them to have nothing further to do with a system of education supported by Government.

Gujarati National School—How started

On 4th November 1920 about 40 students of the Gokuldas Tejpal High School, Bombay submitted to the Principal a demand that the institution should sever its connection with the Bombay University and discontinue the grant of Rs. 2,000 which it received from Government. Simultaneously the attendance dropped from 500 to 200. The 300 absentees held meetings at Madhav Bagh where (1) Vithal VasANJI Jairajani, (2) Narandas Purushottamdas, (3) Hiralal Karsandas, Solicitor, and (4) Indulal Kanhyalal Yajnik addressed them giving them hope to the effect that arrangements would be made for National Education. After consulting Gandhi these people started the school called the Gujarati National School on 29th November 1920. Having no building of its own, this school had to be accommodated at the Marwadi Vidyalaya and the Gandharva Maha Vidyalaya, Sandhurst Road, Bombay. The school started with 207 boys on its roll. U. K. Oza, B.A., was appointed Principal of the school. The effect of this was immediately noticeable on the students of the Baboo Panalal Jain School who appeared to have been disgusted with the trustees' attitude in warning the schoolboys to leave politics alone. The result was that for a few days about 100 students did not attend the school. The Principal of the school however eventually managed to get back these students by the 1st of December 1920.

Progress of Gujarati National School

The National Gujarati School began to make good progress after the Nagpur Session of the Congress in 1920. Within a year's time the attendance went up to 650. By the end of December 1921 and particularly after the Ahmadabad Congress and the incarceration of Mr. Gandhi the attendance began to fall. In June 1922 it was 600. Shortly after U. K. Oza resigned and in June 1923 the average attendance was 335. in the beginning of 1924 the attendance fell to 273.

National Marathi School

The National Marathi School started after the Nagpur Congress on 6th January 1921 with about 10 boys at the start. R. S. Padbidri, who resigned the headmastership of the Maratha High School, Bombay, took up this

institution. In about a month's time the attendance increased to 60. In June 1922 the attendance was 150, in January 1923, it was 135, and in January 1924 it had fallen to 100.

National College, Bombay

The *National College*, Bombay was started on the 1st of February 1921 under the principalship of S. V. Puntambekar, M.A., and about half-a-dozen nationalist professors. In June 1921 the attendance was about 100, in January 1923 it was 95, and in July 1923 it was 70. In the beginning of January 1924 the number fell to 65. (At the time of writing this in December 1924 the attendance had fallen to only 20 and it is reported that the school will close down in March next).

National Girls School

The *National Girls' School* known as *Lokamanya Tilak Girls' School* was formally opened by Mr. Gandhi on the 22nd June 1921. Miss Krishnabai Tulaskar, M.A. was appointed Principal of the school. At the start there were about 125 girls attending the school. In July 1923 the attendance was 275 while in January 1924 it fell to 175.

National Medical College, Bombay

The only progressive institution was the *National Medical College*, Bombay, which started on the 5th of September 1921 at the 2nd Victoria Cross Road through the efforts of Doctors R. H. Bhadkamkar, A. P. Kothare and D. D. Sathaye. In the beginning it had 136 students on its roll. Dr. D. D. Sathaye was appointed the Superintendent of the College and Dr. A. P. Kothare was appointed Principal. In January 1923 the attendance was 250 but in July 1923 the number increased to 430. This increase was partly due to the lack of sufficient accommodation in the Grant Medical College, Bombay. With the help of public funds and the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee's loans the College was able to secure its own building at Victoria Cross Road, Byculla. In January 1924 the attendance was 430. In September 1924 the Principal of the College, Dr. A. P. Kothare, took steps to affiliate the College to the College of Physicians and Surgeons for the L. C. P. S. and M. C. P. S. examinations and also to the Bombay University for the M. B. B. S. examination. This step resulted in Dr. Sathaye's resignation from the superintendentship of the College. Dr. Bhadkamkar was appointed in his place. Most of the other doctors connected with the College were agreeable to affiliation and necessary application was sent in the middle of September 1924.

Anti-Non-Co-operation Movement

(1) On October 23rd, 1920, at a meeting of the Western India National Liberal Association presided over by Sir Dinshaw Wacha the Non-Co-operation movement was strongly condemned by a number of speakers. A full account of this meeting appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle* of 26th October 1920.

(2) On behalf of the anti-non-co-operation the late Sir Narayan Chanda-varkar published a pamphlet appealing to the country against Gandhi's movement. The first part of this pamphlet appeared in the *Chronicle* of 22nd October 1920. In reply to this manifesto of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Mr. Gandhi wrote two articles in *Young India* contradicting Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and justifying the Non-co-operation movement. (For reference regarding these articles please see the issues of *Young India*, dated 4th August 1920 and 25th August 1920, published in the book " *Young India* " by Baboo Rajendra Prasad on pages 239 to 249, 1924 edition, Appendix VI).

Preparations for the Nagpur Congress, 1920

For some time before the Nagpur Congress in 1920 Gandhi and Shaukat Ali (as well as Mahomed Ali who had returned from Europe) toured through the country to create a favourable atmosphere for the Nagpur Congress.

Nagpur Congress, December 1920

The decisions of the Calcutta Special Congress held in September 1920 were confirmed at the Nagpur Session of the Congress held in December 1920. The discussion centred round the *change in the creed of the Congress* and article (1) of the Congress Constitution which was altered into the following words : " The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means", the omission of the qualification within the British Empire being deliberate. The non-cooperation resolution was reaffirmed in the following terms.

RESOLUTIONS

" Whereas in the opinion of the Congress the existing Government of India are not determined to establish Swaraj; and

Whereas all methods adopted by the people of India prior to the last Special Session of the Indian National Congress have failed to secure due recognition of their rights and liberties and the redress of their many and grievous wrongs, more especially in reference to the Khilafat and the Punjab.

Now this Congress, while reaffirming the resolution on non-violent non-cooperation passed at the Special Session of the Congress at Calcutta, declares that the entire or any part or parts of the scheme of non-violent non-co-operation, with the renunciation of voluntary association with the present Government at one end and the refusal to pay taxes at the other, should be put in force at a time to be determined by either the Indian National Congress or All-India Congress Committee and that in the meanwhile to prepare the country for it, effective steps should continue to be taken in that behalf:—

(a) By calling upon the parents and guardians of school children (and not the children themselves) under the age of 16 years to make greater efforts for the purpose of withdrawing them from such schools as are owned, aided or in any way controlled by Government and concurrently to provide for their training in national schools by such other means as may be within their powers in the absence of such schools;

(b) By calling upon students of the age of 16 and over to withdraw without delay irrespective of consequences from institutions owned, aided or in any way controlled by Government if they feel that it is against the conscience to continue in institutions which are dominated by a system of Government which the nation has solemnly decided to bring to an end, and advising such students either to devote themselves to some special service in connection with the non-co-operation movement or to continue their education in national institutions;

(c) By calling upon trustees, managers and teachers of Government affiliated or aided schools and Municipalities and Local Boards to help to nationalise them;

(d) By calling upon lawyers to make greater efforts to suspend their practice and to devote their attention to national service including boycott of law courts by litigants and fellow-lawyers and the settlement of disputes by private arbitration;

(e) In order to make India economically independent and self-contained by calling upon merchants and traders to carry put a gradual boycott of foreign trade relations to encourage hand-spinning and hand-weaving and in that behalf by having a scheme of economic boycott planned and formulated by a committee of experts to be nominated by the All-India Congress Committee;

(f) And generally, inasmuch as self-sacrifice is essential to the success of non-co-operation by calling upon every section and every man and woman in the country to make the utmost possible contribution of self-sacrifice to the national movement;

(g) By organising a committee in each village or group of villages with a provincial central organisation in the principal cities of each province for the purpose of accelerating the progress of non-co-operation;

(h) By organising a band of national workers for a service to be called the Indian National Service; and

(i) By taking effective steps to raise a national fund to be called the All-India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund for the purpose of financing the foregoing national service and the non-co-operation movement in general.

The Congress congratulates the nation upon the progress made so far in working the programme of non-co-operation, specially with regard to the boycott of Councils by the voters and claims, in the circumstances in which they have been brought into existence that the new Councils do not represent the country and trust that those who have allowed themselves to be elected, in spite of the deliberate absence from the polls of an overwhelming majority of their constituents, will see their way to resign their seats in the Councils, and that if they retain their seats in spite of the declared wish of their respective constituencies in direct negation of the principle of democracy, the electors will studiously refrain from asking for any political service from such councillors.

This Congress recognises the growing friendliness between the Police and the soldiery and the people, and hopes that the former will refuse to subordinate their creed and country to the fulfilment of orders of their officers, and by courteous and considerate behaviour towards the people will remove the reproach hitherto levied against them that they are devoid of any regard for the feelings and sentiments of their people.

And this Congress appeals to all people in Government employment pending the call of nation of their service, to help the national call by importing greater kindness and stricter honesty in their dealings with their people and fearlessly and openly to attend all popular gatherings whilst refraining from taking any active part therein and more specially, by openly rendering financial assistance . to the national movement.

This Congress desires to lay special emphasis on non-violence being the integral part of the non-co-operation resolution and invites the attention of the people to the fact that non-violence in word and deed is as essential between people themselves, as in respect of the Government, and this Congress is of opinion that the spirit of violence is not only contrary to the growth of a true spirit of democracy but actually retards the enforcement (if necessary) of the other stages of non-co-operation.

Finally in order that the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs may be redressed and Swarajya established within one year, this Congress urges upon all public bodies whether affiliated to the Congress or otherwise, to devote their exclusive attention to the promotion of non-violence and non-co-operation with the Government and inasmuch as the movement of non-co-operation can only

succeed by complete co-operation amongst the people themselves, this Congress, call; upon public associations to advance Hindu-Moslem Unity and the Hindu delegates of this Congress call upon the leading Hindus to settle all disputes between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, wherever they may be existing, and to make a special effort to rid Hinduism of the reproach of untouchability and respectfully urges the religious heads to help the growing desire to reform Hinduism in the matter of its treatment of the suppressed classes.

In this Congress, S. R. Bomanji, Bombay, moved the resolution advising boycott of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught. He said their intention was to impress on the world that the so-called self-government announced as having been given to India was ridiculous. Now that the non-co-operation resolution has been passed and since His Royal Highness was coming to India to inaugurate the Reformed Councils the people should obey the mandate of the resolution. They meant no disrespect to the Royal Family but they could not deceive the world by showing that they approved of the Reforms Act. This would be assumed if they participated in the festivities.

The Nagpur Congress divided the country into 21 different provinces on a linguistic basis. The Congress workers were, therefore, engaged in organising the new Congress Committees. The activities of the non-co-operators were directed for about two months of the year 1921 mainly to the boycott of Law Courts and the Government Controlled schools. The activities in this direction resulted in the establishment of the so-called national institutions which have been already dealt with.

The above Nagpur Congress..... resolutions were considered by the managing committee of the Swaraj Sabha, Bombay, on January 7, 1921, and they were whole-heartedly supported by the Committee. As a result of this the Swaraj Sabha held a number of meetings to explain the Congress mandate to the students and urge them to leave their schools and colleges. The net result of this agitation was the establishment in Bombay of the Gujarati and Marathi National Schools, National College, and later on in the year, the establishment of the Tilak Girls' School and the National Medical College.

In this connection Mr. Gandhi wrote in *Young India* two important articles expressing his views on the Nagpur Congress and the changed Congress Constitution (For ready reference please see pages 839 to 845 of the book " Young India ", 1924 edition, by Baboo Rajendra Prasad, Appendix VII).

REORGANISATION OF CONGRESS BODIES

All-India Congress Committee

In pursuance of resolution 19 of the Indian National Congress held at Nagpur in December 1920, the All-India Congress Committee allocated 356 seats which according to the new constitution would be the strength of the All India Congress Committee among the various provinces as follows : Madras 25, Andhra 20, Carnatic 16, Kerala 8, City of Bombay 7, Maharashtra 16, Gujraht 12, Sind 9, United Provinces 53, Punjab 33, North-West Frontier Province 2, Delhi 5, Ajmere and Rajputana 7, Central Provinces Hindusthani 10, Central Provinces, Maharashtra 10, Berar 6, Bihar 36, Utkal (Orissa), 7, Bengal and Surma Valley 62, Assam 5 and Burma 12.

Bombay Provincial Congress Committee

Under the new constitution of the Nagpur Congress the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee was organised with 150 representatives (3 from the depressed classes) elected by the 7 District Congress Committees formed in

the city. Below is the statement showing the 7 District Congress Committees with the number of representatives shown against them : —

		Representative
Fort	District Congress Committee	14
Mandvi	District Congress Committee	20
Bhuleshwar	District Congress Committee	28
Girgaum	District Congress Committe	26
Byculla	District Congress Committee	25
Parel (F)	District Congress Committee	17
Dadar	District Congress Committee	17
Depressed classes	District Congress Committee	3
Total		150
		members of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.

Delegates to the Congress

Under the new constitution the Bombay City was authorised to send the Indian National Congress 23 delegates including 7 members of the All-India Congress Committee.

APPENDIX I

(Letter from Mr. M. K. Gandhi to His Excellency the Viceroy (pages 197-200 of publication entitled " Young India " by Baboo Rajendra Prasad.)

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

As one who has enjoyed a certain measure of your Excellency's confidence, and as one who claims to be a devoted well-wisher of the British Empire, I owe it to Your Excellency, and through Your Excellency to His Majesty's Ministers, to explain my connection with and my conduct in the Khilafat question.

At the very earliest stage of the war, even whilst I was in London organising the Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps, I began to interest myself in the Khilafat question. I perceived how deeply moved the little Mussalman World in London was when Turkey decided to throw in her lot with Germany. On . my arrival in India in January of 1915, I found the same anxiousness and, earnestness among the Mussalmans, with whom I came in contact. Their anxiety became intense when the information about the Secret Treaties leaked out Distrust of British intentions filled their minds and despair took possession of them. Even at that moment I advised my Mussalman friends not to give way to despair, but they expressed their fear and their hopes in a disciplined manner It will be admitted that the whole of Mussalman in India has behaved in a singularly restrained manner during the past five years, and that the leaders have been able to keep the turbulent sections of then community under complete control. The peace terms and Your Excellency's defence of them have given the Mussalmans of India a shock from which it will be difficult for them to recover. The terms violate ministerial pledges and utterly disregard Mussalman sentiment I consider that, as a staunch Hindu wishing to live on terms of the

closest friendship with my Mussalman countrymen, I should be an unworthy son of India if I did not stand by them in their hour of trial. In my humble opinion, their cause is just. They claim that Turkey must not be *punished* if their sentiment is to be respected. Muslim soldiers did not fight to inflict punishment on their own Khalifa or to deprive him of his territories. The Mussalman attitude has been consistent throughout these five years.

My duty to the Empire to which I owe my loyalty requires me to resist the cruel violence that has been done to the Mussalman sentiment. So far as I am aware, Mussalmans and Hindus have as a whole lost faith in British justice and honour. The report of the Majority of the Hunter Committee, Your Excellency's despatch thereon and Mr. Montagu's reply have only aggravated the distrust.

In these circumstances the only course open to one like me is either in despair to sever all connection with British rule, or, if I still retained faith in the inherent superiority of the British constitution to all others at present in vogue, to adopt such means as will rectify the wrong done, and thus restore confidence. I have not lost faith in such superiority and I am not without hope that somehow or other justice will yet be rendered if we show the requisite capacity for suffering. Indeed, my conception of that constitution is that it helps only those who are ready to help themselves. I do not believe that it protects the weak. It gives free scope to the strong to maintain their strength and develop it.

It is then, because I believe in the British constitution that I have advised my Mussalman friends to withdraw their support from their Excellency's Government, and the Hindus to join them, should the peace terms not be revised in accordance with the solemn pledges of Ministers and the Muslim sentiment.

Three courses were open to the Mahomedans in order to mark their emphatic disapproval of the utter injustice to which His Majesty's Ministers have become party, if they have not actually been the prime perpetrators of it.

They are :—

- (1) To resort to violence.
- (2) To advise emigration on a wholesale scale.
- (3) Not to be party of the injustice by ceasing to co-operate with the Government.

Your Excellency must be aware that there was a time when the boldest, though the most thoughtless, among the Mussalmans favoured violence, and the *Hijrat* (emigration) has not yet ceased to be the battle-cry. I venture to claim that I have succeeded by patient reasoning in weaning the party of violence from its ways. I confess that I did not attempt to succeed in weaning them from violence on moral grounds, but purely on utilitarian grounds. Result, for the time being at any rate, has however been to stop violence. The school of *Hijrat* has received a check, if it has not stopped its activity entirely. I hold that no repression could have prevented a violent eruption, if the people had not presented to them a form of direct action involving considerable sacrifice and ensuring success if such direct action was largely taken up by the public. 'Non-co-operation was the only dignified and constitutional form of such direct action. For it is the right recognised from time immemorial of the subject to refuse to assist a ruler who misrules.

At the same time I admit that non-co-operation practised by the mass of people is attended with grave risks. But in a crisis such as has overtaken the Mussalmans of India, no step that is unattended with large risks can possibly

bring about the desired change. Not to run some risks now will be to court much greater risks, if not virtual destruction of Law and Order.

But there is yet an escape from Non-co-operation. The Mussalman re-presentation has requested Your Excellency to lead the agitation yourself, as did your distinguished predecessor at the time of the South Africa trouble. If you cannot see your way to do so, and Non-co-operation becomes a dire necessity, I hope that Your Excellency will give those who have accepted my advice and myself the credit for being actuated by nothing less than a stern sense of duty.

I have the honour to remain,
Your Excellency's faithful servant,
(Signed) M. K. GANDHI.

Labournum Road, Gamdevi,
Bombay, 22nd June 1920.

APPENDIX II

[Paragraph 1103(Z) of *Bombay Secret Abstract*, 1920]
(poster)

God is Great

In the name of God, the merciful and compassionate. One who becomes the friends of the enemy of the Islam he may be considered at one of them. Third Day of Khilafat has come. Come along, the field of work is before us. Give the testimony of our strength of faith.

The work of non-co-operation is open and this is the first stage of test. Keep regard and reputation of Islam, God and his Prophet and never do any such work by which your weakness of faith might come to light and thereby the enemies of Islam will be overpowered.

In August 1920, is the beginning day of the non-co-operation movement. On that day offer prayers to God, observe fast, stop business, hold committees and promise to God that you will suffer every sort of trouble for the sake of righteousness. Renounce the titles and honorary posts. Remember this also that disturbances and breach of peace are not in any way profitable to you. Be aside from disturbance; but stick to the right path.

Detailed instructions are being published separately. Obtain further information from your District or Provincial Khalifat Committee; but remember that if you step ahead don't retreat. This is the only secret of the success in life.

Publishers—

M. K. Gandhi,
Abul Kalam Azad,
Shaukat Ali,
Ahmad Haji Siddik Khatri,
Saifuddin Kitchlew,
Fazl-ul-Hassan Hasrat Mohani,
Muhammad Ali.

Members of the Non-co-operation Committee, Mount Road, Maragaon, Bombay.
Free translation of the objectional instructions.

"GOD IS GREAT"

Inauguration of Tark-e-Mawalat of Adam-i-Ishtak Amal or Non-cooperation (which means severing all connections with the pledge-breaking Government) and the test of self-respect and respect for the community of the Mussalmans of India and the test of the perseverance of the prestige of the nation and country of the Hindu brethren.

Non-co-operation is a glorious act of the Mussalmans, the foundation-stone of which was laid for the first time in the year 9 A.H. and which is once more being revived (put into practice) by Islam now. The Romans who were the strongest people (nation) of the time were making preparations for an attack on the Mussalmans, and the Holy Prophet also collected an army. Kaab *bin* Malik, Hilal *bin* Umayya and Marara *bin* Rabina did not join the Islamic army only on account of laziness and carelessness. This laziness and carelessness on their part condemned them for punishment in the eyes of God and His Prophet, and when they presented themselves before the Prophet for begging his pardon, their request was not acceded to and the result was that all the Mussalmans severed co-operation with them. When Kaab *bin* Malik went to see his cousin Abu Katada, he too turned away his face from him. Hazrat Kaab was a very respected Sahabi (friend of the Prophet), was one of the Anasaris (those who were prepared to sacrifice their lives for the Prophet at any time), and had served the cause of Islam in many ways, but he had to suffer these consequences for a little indiscretion in performing the duty enjoined by the command of God. He used to roam about in Medina like a mad man but not a single soul accosted him or paid any attention to him. He himself narrated that though the whole of Medina was full of human beings, there was not a single eye which turned towards him or a single tongue which accosted him (Bokhari Shariff tradition).

But at the time this non-co-operation was resorted to by Mussalmans against Mussalmans, now we are forced to resort to it with people who have struck a little blow to the cause of Islam, who have done all in their power to snatch away the Holy Places (of Islam) from the control of the Khilafat-ul-Mussalman who have left no stone unturned to bring the Jazirat-ul-Arab (the Arabian Peninsula) under the suzerainty and control of the Christian Powers, and who have finally decided to deprive the Khalif of Islam of all his religious and worldly powers. In short, according to (Arabic quotation, meaning : *Spite and hatred is in their speech but whatever is concealed in their hearts is many times greater than that*) this, they have done whatever they could to destroy and ruin Islam and they are still trying.

Under the circumstances, in accordance with the command of God (Arabic quotation, meaning) O ! Mussalmans, *do not make friends with those hypocrites and enemies of Islam who leave no stone unturned to bring about your downfall and disgrace, and that* (Arabic quotation, meaning) God forbids you to make friends with those who opposed you in religious questions, those who turned you out of your country (houses) or those who helped the people who were trying to turn you out, it is the bounden religious duty of us Mussalmans, and it is a friendly obligation on our Hindu brethren, that we should resort to non-co-operation with those above mentioned people who have given a proof of their being the bitterest enemy of the Mussalmans and Islam, among the other nations of the world. And consequently should act according to those instructions which have been approved of with due deliberations and discussion and which have already been published and thus prove that we practise what we preach and act in conformity with what we make up our minds to do, and this to such an extent that we may come out successful.

Till now we resorted to making appeals and did not make up our minds to resort to actions, but now we are prepared for it. May God give us success in our enterprise. Amen.

May God forbid, but we do not resort to it fully and in spite of all our efforts and propaganda the co-operation with them still remained, then we would be condemned like (Arabic quotation meaning) those who keep friendly relations with them are themselves cruel (tyrants). We should keep in mind the fact that when Habib bin Yalba, who was a Muhajir and a brave man, through weakness wrote a letter to the infidels of Mecca, and that too with a view to save his family and relations, who were in Mecca, from the danger, and when this secret was revealed and the letter seized and placed before Hazrat Omar, he deemed it advisable to execute him and said that he (Habib) was munafiq (hypocrite) and that he broke the trust of God and his Prophet.

If they fail they should remember that the Mussalmans of India in particular and the Indians in general, will not be in a position to claim anything to give proof (of their stability) or to show their face to other self-respecting nations, and will be condemned to suffer all calamities and difficulties in this world.

In short, non-co-operation is a religious obligation and a kind of *jihad*. The Mussalmans, therefore and the Hindu brethren for the sake of prestige, unity and brotherhood, should commence non-co-operation from the 1st August 1920 in accordance with the decision of and the instructions issued by the Non-co-operation Sub-Committee and should observe the following instructions in a peaceful and quiet way, because though every effort is being made to get the peace terms revised, there is no ray of hope or success during the short period allowed.

(Then follow the instructions, which are mostly similar to the instructions published).

Published by M. K. Gandhi, Abul Kalam Azad, Shaukat Ali, Ahmed Khatri, Saifuddin Kitchlew, Fazl-ul-Hasan, Hasrat Mohani, Muhammad Ali, Members of the Non-Co-operation Committee, Maher Mansion, Mount Road, Mazagaon, Bombay.

Printed at the Mustafai Press, Kumbharwada.

APPENDIX III

[Paragraph 1316(8) of *Bombay Secret Abstract*, 1920]

Congress Democratic Party's Manifesto

We, the undersigned candidates for election to the various Legislative Councils, while disapproving the boycott of Councils, resolved to withdraw our candidature in order to maintain the dignity and prestige of the Congress and to promote Hindu-Muslim unity, objects which we consider more important than working the Reforms for what they are worth. We withdraw our candidature as members of the Congress Democratic Party and pursuance of the resolution passed at the meeting of the party held at Sardargriha on the 19th September 1920:—

1. Joseph Baptista (University Electorate).
2. D. D. Sathaye (Bombay Legislative Assembly).
3. R. P. Karandikar (Legislative Assembly, Central Division).
4. N. C. Kelkar (Legislative Council, Bombay).

5. M. B. Velkar (Legislative Council, Bombay Southern Division).
6. F. J. Ginwala (Legislative Council, Bombay).
7. V. M. Pawar (Legislative Council, Bombay Northern Division).
8. C. V. Vaidya (Indian Legislative Assembly).
9. V. M. Kale (C. P. Legislative Council, Buldhana, Berar).
10. M. S. Aney (Indian Legislative Assembly, Berar).
11. J. M. Mehta (Bombay Legislative Council, Thana District).
12. R. C. Soman (Bombay Legislative Council, Satara District).
13. L. M. Deshpande (Bombay Legislative Council, Satara District).
14. K. N. Kaduskar (Bombay Legislative Council, Satara District).
15. M. C. Javle (Bombay Legislative Council, Bombay City).
16. B. B. Pimplikar (Legislative Council, C. P., Malkapur).
17. Narayen Ramji Gunjal (Poona District Reserved Maratha Seat).
18. Hansraj Pragji Thakersey (Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, Bombay Legislative Council).
19. K. B. Joshi (Ratnagiri District, Bombay Legislative Council).
20. M. R. Ranade (Thana District, Bombay Legislative Council).
21. T. V. Khare (Berar, Industry and Commerce).
22. J. K. Asnare (Central Provinces and Berar Legislative Council, Amraoti).

Further Withdrawals

The following gentlemen, also members of the Congress Democratic Party, have expressed by letters or by wires their resolve to withdraw their candidature :—

1. Honourable Mr. D. V. Belvi (Belgaum Legislative Assembly, Southern Division).
2. Mr. V. B. Chaukar (Nagar, Legislative Council).
3. Mr. S. V. Kowjalgi (Bijapur, Legislative Council, Bombay).
4. Mr. W. V. Dastane (Bhusawal, Legislative Council, Bombay).
5. Mr. P. G. Joshi (Erandole, Legislative Council, Bombay).
6. Mr. Shioballapa H. Deshmukh (Sholapur, Legislative Council, Bombay).
7. Mr. N. N. Sutavani (Nasik).
8. Mr. Nargundappa Shetti (Athani).
9. Mr. H. G. Damle (Wun, Berar).
10. Mr. M. R. Shitole (Akluj, Sholapur).
11. Mr. H. V. Kolhatkar (Jalgaon).
12. Mr. D. A. Mohite (Thana).
13. Mr. V. R. Date (Jamner).
14. Mr. N. B. Khare (Nagpur).
15. Mr. Nilkantrao Deshmukh (Wardha, Central Provinces).
16. Mr. P. M. Bildikar (Pachora).
17. Mr. R. G. Khadkikar (Sholapur).
18. Mr. K. P. Khadilkar (Poona).
19. Mr. G. B. Deshpande (Belgaum).

20. Mr.N.K.Vaidya(Nagpur).
21. Dr.K.G.Lohakare.
22. Mr. Hiralal Ramlal Naik (Poona).
23. 23.Mr. N. R. Gosavi (Kulaba).
24. Mr. Bapoosaheb Phadke (Thana, Secretary, Southern Division).

APPENDIX IV

[Manifesto *vide* paragraph 1339(5) of *Bombay Secret Abstract*, dated 2nd October 1920]

ACCOMPANIMENT ' A'

The duty of Voters

The Special Session of the Congress by an overwhelming majority has decided in favour of complete boycott of the Reformed Councils. It is therefore, your duty *not to vote for any candidate for election* to the Reformed Councils. It is, however, necessary for any candidate who wishes to stand in your name to know that you do not wish him or anybody else to represent you. For that purpose you should sign the form that has been prepared for your signature. It is your duty also to tell your co-voters what they should do.

You know why it is wrong to enter the Councils. The Government have declined to grant justice to the Punjab. British Ministers have broken their pledged word to the Mussalmans and otherwise ignored the deepest Mussalman sentiments regarding the Khilafat.

We must get these wrongs righted, and in order to prevent a recurrence of such injustice or bad faith we must obtain full *Swaraj* and must get rid of the badge of inferiority. We cannot do this by going to the Councils, nor can we gain *Swaraj* by going there. On the contrary although our representatives may vote against unjust Government, measures and thus be unwilling instruments of injustice. The best way, therefore, for conserving our honour, hastening the advance of *Swaraj* and righting those wrongs is for the voters not to send any representatives to the Councils.

All-India Home Rule League,
Masjid Bunder Road,
Mandvi, Bombay.

M. K. GANDHI.

ACCOMPANIMENT ' B'

To

The President and Secretaries,
Branch Home Rule League.

Dear Sirs,

In accordance with the Resolution passed at the general meeting of the All-India Home Rule League at Calcutta, we beg to send the following instructions for carrying out the Non-co-operation Resolution passed by the Special Sessions of the Congress.

All Branches of the All-India Home Rule League are requested in accordance with its objects to enforce the Non-co-operation Resolution of the Special

Session of the Congress in so far as it advised action on the part of the people. And with a view to effective action all the branches are for the time being requested to concentrate their attention for the next two months principally upon complete boycott of the reformed councils. For that purpose all the branches are requested to canvass signatures on the following form on the part of the voters:—

" In view and in virtue of the resolution of the Session of the National Congress and the All-India Moslem League, we, being voters in the electoral district of for election to the Reformed Councils, hereby place on record our desire that we do not wish to be represented at the Provincial Legislative Council (or the Legislative Assembly or the Council of State) and hereby inform all candidates for election that if they seek election in spite of our wish to the contrary they will not representus. We do not desire to be represented in the Reformed Councils till justice has been granted in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab and *Swaraj* is established in India." Too much stress cannot be laid on the fact that before the signatures are taken the voters should be made to understand clearly what they are doing. No pressure of any kind should be exercised upon the voters. Candidates too should be requested to withdraw their candidature in obedience to the expressed wish of the voters, wherever more than half the number of voters have signified their wish in writing."

Further instructions as to the other items adopted by the Congress for immediate enforcement will be forwarded in due course.

M. K. GANDHI
President.
UMAR SOBHANI,
JAWAHARALAL NEHRU,
C. RAJA GOPALACHARI,
General Secretaries,
All-India Home Rule League.

APPENDIX V

Non-co-operation Instructions

(Draft instructions as to the exact operation of the Non-co-operation Campaign issued by the Non-co-operation Sub-Committee).

The All-India Congress Committee, after considering the report of the Sub-Committee appointed at Calcutta on 9th September to draft instructions to carry out the resolution of the Congress on Non-co-operation and Mr. Patel's note, resolved to issue the following instructions:—

CALCUTTA SPECIAL CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

In view of the fact that on the Khilafat question both the Indian and Imperial Governments have signally failed in their duty towards the Mussalmans of India, and the Prime Minister has deliberately broken his pledged word given to them and that it is the duty of every Non-Moslem Indian in every legitimate manner to assist his Mussalman brother in his attempt to move the religious calamity that has overtaken him.

And in view of the fact that in the matter of the events of April 1919 both the said Governments have grossly neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Punjab and punished officers guilty of unsoldierly and barbarous behaviour towards them, and have exonerated Sir Michael O'Dwyer who proved himself, directly or indirectly, responsible for most of the official crimes and callous to the sufferings of the people placed under his administration, and that the debate in the House of Commons and specially in the House of Lords betrayed a woeful lack of sympathy with the people of India and showed virtual support of the systematic terrorism and frightfulness adopted in the Punjab, and that the latest Viceregal pronouncement is proof of an entire absence of repentance in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab.

This Congress is of opinion that there can be no contentment in India without the redress of the two aforementioned wrongs, and that the only effectual means to vindicate national honour and to prevent a repetition of similar wrong in future is the establishment of *Swarajya*. This Congress is further of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive non-violent Non-co-operation inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi until the said wrongs are righted and *Swarajya* is established.

And inasmuch as a beginning should be made by the classes who have hitherto moulded and represented public opinion, and inasmuch as Government consolidates its power through titles and honours bestowed on the people, through schools controlled by it, its law courts and its legislative Councils, and inasmuch as it is desirable in the prosecution of the movement to take the minimum risk and to call for the best sacrifice compatible with the attainment of the desired object, this Congress earnestly advises—

(a) surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in local bodies;

(b) refusal to attend Government levees, durbars and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials or in their honour;

(c) gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government, and in place of such schools, and colleges, establishment of national schools and colleges in the various Provinces;

(d) gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants, and establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid, for the settlement of private disputes;

(e) refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia;

(f) withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the Reformed Councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may, despite the Congress advice, offer himself for election;

(g) boycott of foreign goods.

And inasmuch as Non-co-operation has been conceived as a measure of discipline and self-service without which no nation can make real progress, and inasmuch as an opportunity should be given in the very first stage of Non-co-operation to every man, woman and child for such discipline and self-sacrifice, this Congress advises adoption of *Swadeshi* in piece-goods on a vast scale, and inasmuch as the existing mills of India with indigenous capital and control do not manufacture sufficient yarn and sufficient cloth for the requirements of the nation, and are not likely to do so for a long time to come, this Congress advises immediate stimulation of further manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving hand-spinning in every home and hand-weaving on the part of the millions of weavers who have abandoned their ancient and honourable calling for want of encouragement.

INSTRUCTIONS TO CARRY OUT THE RESOLUTION

(a) *Boycott of titles.*—Workers in every town, taluka and district should compile a list of such holders of titles and honorary offices, and a small deputation of the leading non-co-operationists should wait upon such holders, and with all respect and humility, urge upon them; the necessity of surrendering their titles and honorary offices for the good of the country. No undue pressure of any kind whatsoever should be exercised, violence of language should be scrupulously avoided, and lists of those who have not surrendered their titles and offices should be furnished to the provincial headquarters for publication. Those who have already surrendered their titles and honorary offices will be expected to induce others to do likewise. Those who hold such titles and offices and who have voted for non-co-operation are naturally expected immediately to surrender their titles and offices, mentioning the purpose, viz., the resolution of the Congress.

(b) *Boycott of Government functions.*—(1) Deputations and public meetings to ask *Durbaris* to have their names removed from the list. (2) Deputation and public meetings to be organised on the occasion of a levee, *Durbar* or such other function in order to urge upon persons likely to attend them, the necessity of abandoning the idea for the good of the country, (3) When any function is being organised by Government, a local body, an association, or any private individual, in honour of an officer of Government, similar steps should be taken to induce people not to attend such a function. Deputations and public meetings should also be organised to request local bodies, associations or private individuals not to give any address to any officer of Government, or hold or organise any function in his honour.

(c) *Boycott of schools and colleges aided or controlled by the Government.*— We advise gradual withdrawal of boys and girls from schools and colleges and earnest attempts to establish National Institutions. Meanwhile reliance should be placed upon private education and where even that is not available or possible for want of means, boys should be apprenticed to patriotic merchants or artisans. Vigorous propaganda should be organised and carried on amongst the parents, schoolmasters and schoolboys who are over the age of 18 years. Canvassing should go on for volunteer teachers, and where parents and schools other than those under direct Government control agree, these schools should give immediate notice to the Government dispensing with all control or aid by way of inspection or otherwise. They should be conducted as national schools with such modifications in the training as local circumstances may require. If men of education take interest in this movement of truly nationalising our education, local committees of inspection and guidance may be formed ultimately resulting in provincial or district universities. Lists of parents who have withdrawn their children, or boys who have resigned, and list of local schools established, as also of volunteers, teachers, should be sent to the provincial headquarters and should be published.

(N.B.—By a "National Institution" is meant any educational institution that does not receive any aid from Government, is not in any way controlled or inspected by Government, and is not affiliated to any University established by Government.)

(d) *Boycott of Law Courts.*—Those lawyers who suspend practice and who require to be supported, should be supported by the nation, either by utilizing their service for national schools, or in connection with private arbitration or for propaganda work. A deputation such as has been suggested for holders of titles, etc., should also wait upon lawyers and ascertain their wishes. Lists

of lawyers in each town or district should be prepared marking out those who may suspend their practice and forwarded to the provincial headquarters for publications.

Lawyers should help in inducing parties not only to refer future disputes to arbitration but also to withdraw cases now pending in the British Courts, and submit them to the National Arbitration Courts.

District Committees should make lists of lawyers and other prominent citizens commanding public confidence who are to preside over Arbitration Courts.

As there is at present no machinery to enforce the orders of Arbitration Courts, some kind of social boycott should be imposed on parties who fail to carry out such orders.

It has been pointed out that certain lawyers who are ready and willing to suspend their practice immediately are not in a position to do so completely at a moment's notice, as they have already entered into engagements from which, as honourable men, they cannot withdraw without consent of their clients. In these cases the lawyers will be expected to attend only to such engagements and to make every endeavour to cease to practice completely at the earliest possible date.

(e) *Boycott of Councils*.—The boycott of Councils being of immediate importance, it requires the greatest concentration of energy to make it as complete as possible. Candidates who have already come forward should be approached by deputations requesting them to withdraw their candidatures and electors should be approached to sign the following form:—

" In view and in virtue of the resolution of the Special Session of the National Congress and the All-India Moslem League we, being voters in the.....electoral district of.....for election to the Reformed Councils hereby place on record our desire that we do not wish to be represented at the Provincial Legislative Council (or the Legislative Assembly or the Council of State), and hereby inform all candidates for election that if they seek election inspire of our wishes to the contrary, they will not represent us. We do hereby declare further that we do not desire to be represented on any legislative bodies until full *Swaraj* is established, which alone can make impossible the repetition of the Punjab atrocities and breach of solemn pledges as in the matter of the Khilafat."

Lists of those who have withdrawn their candidature and those who persist should be forwarded to the provincial headquarters. Greatest care should be taken to put the pros and cons before the voters prior to asking them to sign the abovementioned form which should be translated in the vernacular of the district concerned.

(f) *Recruiting of Labour for Mesopotamia*.—Propaganda should be carried on by workers among those who are likely to offer themselves for such services placing before them the true situation, and then letting them make their choice.

(g) *Boycott of foreign goods*.—Every non-co-operator is in duty bound to simplify his or her wants and dispense with all luxuries that are dependent on the use of foreign articles.

(h) *Swadeshi*.—We attach great importance to *Swadeshi* in the form of revival of hand-spinning and hand-weaving and distribution of cloth so manufactured. Thousands of workers need special training for this work. Ladies of high station especially should be induced to take up hand-spinning

and to use only such cloth as can be woven out of hand-spun yarn. Classes should be formed in every street. Spinning-wheels can be manufactured by any ordinary carpenter. Those taking up this branch of work should communicate with the manager of Satyagrah Ashram, Sabarmati, near Ahmedabad.

(i) *Swaraj Fund*.—It is very necessary that a National Fund should be established for the purpose of carrying into effect the Congress resolution. Funds will be required for propaganda work, for encouraging *Swadeshi*, for establishing national schools, and for supporting lawyers who have suspended their practice and are unable to support themselves. Provincial Congress Committees with the help of district and other organisations should, therefore, make every endeavour to collect funds and submit monthly reports of receipts and expenditure to the All-India Congress Committee.

(j) *Volunteer Corps*.—Provincial, District and Town Organisations should form volunteer corps for the purpose of disciplining the people and maintaining order.

(k) *Finally* we should advise that where there is a sufficient number of workers a batch should specialise in order to make one particular item successful. Where the workers are not sufficient precedence should be given to the boycott of the Councils because results must be shown in this item of non-co-operation before the middle of December next.

APPENDIX VI

(Extract from book " *Young India* " by Baboo Rajendra Prasad, pages 239-249 of 1924 edition)

4th August 1924—Crusade against non-co-operation

BY M. K. GANDHI

I have most carefully read the manifesto addressed by Sir Narayan Chanda-varkar and others dissuading people from joining the Non-co-operation movement. I had expected to find some solid argument against Non-cooperation but to my regret I have found in it nothing but a distortion (no doubt unconscious) of the great religions and history. The manifesto says that " Non-co-operation is depreciated by the religious tenets and traditions of our motherland, nay, of all the religions that have saved and elevated the human race. " I venture to submit that the *Bhagwad Gita* is a gospel of Non-co-operation between the forces of darkness and those of light. If it is to be literally interpreted, Arjun representing a just cause was enjoined to engage in bloody warfare with the unjust Kauravas. Tulsidas advised the Sant (the good) to shun the *Assant* (the evil-doers). The Zendavesta represents a perpetual duel between Ormuzd and Ahriman, two between whom there is no compromise. To say of the Bible that it taboos non-co-operation is not to know Jesus, Prince among passive resisters, who uncompromisingly challenged the might of the Sadduces and Pharisees and for the sake of truth did not hesitate to divide sons from their parents. And what did the prophet of Islam do ? He non-co-operated in Mecca in a most active manner so long as his life was not in danger and wiped the dust of Mecca off his feet when he found that he and his followers might have uselessly to perish, and fled to Medina and returned when he was strong enough to give battle to his opponents. The duty of Non-co-operation with unjust men and kings is as strictly enjoined by

all the religions as is the duty of co-operation with just men and kings. Indeed most of the scriptures of the world seem even to go beyond Non-co-operation and prefer violence to effeminate submission to a wrong. The Hindu religious tradition, of which the manifesto speaks, clearly proves the duty of co-operation. Pralhad dissociated himself from his father, Meerabai from her husband, Bibhishan from his brutal brother.

The manifesto, speaking of the secular aspect, "The history of nations affords no instance to show that it (meaning Non-co-operation) has, when employed succeeded and done good." One most recent instance of brilliant success of Non-co-operation is that of General Botha who boycotted Lord Milner's reformed councils and thereby procured a perfect constitution for his country. The Dukhobours of Russia offered Non-co-operation, and a handful though they were their grievances so deeply moved the civilised world that Canada offered them a home where they formed a prosperous community. In India, instances can be given by the dozen, in which in little principalities the rayats when deeply grieved by their chiefs have cut off all connection with them and bent them to their will. I know of no instance in history where well-managed Non-co-operation has failed.

Hitherto I have given historical instances of bloodless Non-co-operation. I will not insult the intelligence of the reader by citing historical instances of Non-co-operation combined with violence, but I am free to confess that there are on record as many successes as failures in violent Non-co-operation. And it is because I know this fact that I have placed before the country a non violent scheme in which if at all worked satisfactorily success is a certainty and in which non-response means no harm. For, even if one man non-co-operates, say by resigning some office, he has gained, not lost. That is its ethical or religious aspect. For its political result naturally it requires polymerous support. I fear, therefore, no disastrous result from Non-co-operation save for an outbreak of violence on the part of the people whether under provocation or otherwise. I would risk violence a thousand times than risk the emasculation of a whole race.

25th August 1920—Religious Authority for non-co-operation

BY M. K. GANDHI

It is not without the greatest reluctance that I engage in a controversy with so learned a leader like Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. But in view of the fact that I am the author of the movement of Non-co-operation, it becomes my painful duty to state my views even though they are opposed to those of the leaders whom I look upon with respect. I have just read during my travels in Malabar Sir Narayan's rejoinder to my answer to the Bombay manifestos against Non-co-operation. I regret to have to say that the rejoinder leaves me unconvinced. He and I seem to read the teachings of the *Bible*, the *Gita* and the *Koran* from different standpoints, or we put different interpretation on them. We seem to understand the words *Ahimsa*, politics and religion differently. I shall try my best to make clear my meaning of the common terms and my reading of the different religions.

At the outset let me assure Sir Narayan that I have not changed my views on *Ahimsa*. I still believe that man, not having been given the power of creation does not possess the right of destroying the meanest creature that lives. The prerogative of destruction belongs solely to the creator of all that lives. I accept the interpretation of *Ahimsa*, namely, that it is not merely a negative

state of harmlessness but it is a positive state of love, of doing good even to the evil-doer. But it does not mean helping the evil-doer to continue the wrong or tolerating it by passive acquiescence., On the contrary love, the active state of *Ahimsa*, requires you to resist the wrong-doer by dissociating yourself from him even though it may offend him or injure him physically. Thus if my son lives a life of shame, I may not help him to do so by continuing to support him ; on the contrary, my love for him requires me to withdraw all support from him although it may mean even his death. And the same love imposes on me the obligation of welcoming him to my bosom when he repents. But I may not by physical force compel my son to become good. That in my opinion, is the moral of the story of the Prodigal Son.

Non-co-operation is not a passive state, it is an intensely active state-more active than physical resistance or violence. Passive resistance is a misnomer. Non-co-operation in the sense used by me must be non-violent and therefore neither punitive nor vindictive nor based on malice, ill-will or hatred. It follows, therefore, that it would be sin for me to serve General Dyer and cooperate with him to shoot innocent men. But it will be an exercise of forgiveness or love for me to nurse him back to life if he was suffering from a physical malady. I cannot use in this context the word Co-operation as Sir Narayan would perhaps use it. I would co-operate a thousand times with this Government to wean it from its career of crime, but I will not for a single moment cooperate with it to continue that career. And I would be guilty of wrong-doing if I retamed a title from it or "a service under for supported its law courts or schools." Better for me a beggar's; bowl than the richest possession from hands stained with the blood of the innocents of Jalianwalla. Better by far a warrant of imprisonment than honeyed words from those who have only wounded the religious sentiment of my seventy million brothers.

My reading of the Gita is diametrically opposed to Sir Narayan's. I do not believe that the *Gita* teaches violence for doing good. It is preeminently a description of the duel that goes on in our own hearts. The divine author has used a historical incident for inculcating the lesson of doing one's duty even at the peril of one's life. It inculcates performance of duty irrespective of the consequences, for we mortals, limited by our physical frames, are incapable of controlling actions save our own. The Gita distinguishes between the power of light and darkness and demonstrates their incompatibility.

Jesus, in my humble opinion, was a prince among politicians. He did render unto Caesar that which was Caesar's. He gave the devil his due. He ever shunned him and is reported never once to have yielded to his incantations. The politics of his time consisted in securing the welfare of the people by teaching them not to be seduced by the trinkets of the Priests and the Pharisees. The latter then controlled and moulded the life of the people. To-day the system of Government is so devised as to affect every department of your life. It threatens our very existence. If therefore, we want to conserve the welfare of the Nation, we must religiously interest ourselves in the doings of the governors and exert a moral influence on them by insisting on their obeying the laws of morality. General Dyer did produce a " moral effect " by an act of butchery. Those who are engaged in forwarding the movement of Non-co-operation, hope to produce a moral effect by a process of self-denial, self-sacrifice and self-purification. It surprises me that Sir Narayan should speak of General Dyer's massacre in the same breath as acts of Non-co-operation. I have done my best to understand his meaning, but I am sorry to confess that I have failed.

APPENDIX VII

(Extract from book " Young India " by Baboo Rajendra Prasad, pages 839-845 of 1924 Edition)

5th January 1921—The Congress

BY M. K. GANDHI

The largest and the most important Congress ever held has come and gone. It was the biggest demonstration ever held against the present system of Government. The President uttered the whole truth when he said that it was a Congress in which, instead of the President and the leaders driving the people, the people drove him and the latter. It was clear to everyone on the platform that the people had taken the reins in their own hands. The platform would gladly have moved at a slower pace.

The Congress gave one day to a full discussion of the creed and voted solidly for it with but two dissensions after two nights' sleep over the discussion. It gave one day to a discussion of Non-co-operation resolution and voted for it with unparalleled enthusiasm. It gave the last day to listening to the whole of the remaining thirty-two articles of the Constitution which were read and translated word for word by Maulana Mahomed Ali in a loud and clear voice. It showed that it intelligently followed the reading of it, for there was dissent when Article Eight was reached. It referred to non-interference by the Congress in the internal affairs of the Native States. The Congress would not have passed the proviso if it had meant that it could not even voice the feelings of the people residing in the territories ruled by the princes. Happily a resolution suggesting the advisability of establishing responsible Government in their territories enabled me to illustrate to the audience that the proviso did not preclude the Congress from ventilating the grievances and aspirations of the subjects of these States, whilst it clearly prevented the Congress from taking any executive action in connection with them ; as for instance holding a hostile demonstration in the Native States against any action of theirs. The Congress claims to dictate to the Government but it cannot do so by the very nature of its constitution in respect of the Native States. Thus the Congress has taken three important steps after the greatest deliberation. It has expressed its determination in the clearest possible terms to attain complete self-government, if possible, still in association with the British people, but even without, if necessary. It proposes to do so only by means that are honourable and nonviolent. It has introduced fundamental changes in the constitution regulating its activities and has performed an act of self-denial in voluntarily restricting the number of delegates to one for every fifty thousand of the population of India and has insisted upon the delegates being the real representatives of those who want to take any part in the political life of the country. And with a view to ensuring the representation of all political parties, it has accepted the principle of " single transferable vote. " It has reaffirmed the Non-co-operation resolution of the special session and amplified it in every respect. It has emphasised the necessity of non-violence and laid down that the attainment of *Swaraj* is conditional upon the complete harmony between the component parts of India, and has, therefore, inculcated Hindu-Muslim unity. The Hindu delegates have called upon the leaders to settle disputes between Brahmins and non-Brahmins and have urged upon the religious heads the necessity of getting rid of the poison of untouchability. The Congress has told the parents of school-going children and the lawyers that they have not responded sufficiently to the call of nation and that they must make greater effort in doing so. It, therefore,

follows that the lawyers who do not respond quickly to call for suspension and the parents who persist in keeping their children in Government and aided institutions must find themselves dropping out from the public life of the country. The country calls upon every man and woman in India to do their full share. But of the details of the Non-co-operation resolution, I must write later.

30th March 1921—The Congress Constitution

By M. K. GANDHI

The last Congress has given a constitution whose working is in itself calculated to lead to *Swaraj*. It is intended to secure in every part of India representative committees working in conjunction with, and under willing and voluntary submission to, a central organisation—the All India Congress Committee. It establishes an adult suffrage open to men and women, subject only to two qualifications, signing of the creed and a nominal payment of four annas. It is intended to secure due representation of all parties and communities. If, then, it is honestly worked and commands confidence and respect, it can oust the present Government without the slightest difficulty. For the latter has no power except through the co-operation, willing or forced, of the people. The force it exercises is almost through our own people. One lac of Europeans without our help, can only hold one-seventh of our villages each and it would be difficult for one man, even when physically present to impose his will on, say, four hundred men and women—the average population of an Indian village.

The problem before us, therefore, is one of opposing our will to that of the will of the Government, in other words to withdraw our co-operation from it. If we are united in purpose, the Government must obey our will or retire. It is the disturbing factors of which the Government avails itself for the consolidation of its power.

When we are violent, it resorts to terrorism; when we are disunited, it resorts to bribery; when we are united, it resorts to cajolery and conciliation; when we are clamant, it puts temptation in the way of those who cry out most. All, therefore, we need do is to remain non-violent, united, and unresponsive to bribery and cajolery.

Surely, there is not much education required to accomplish this much among a people who are cultured and intelligent. It is not difficult to present to them a common purpose and a common platform which they can appreciate and understand. But this means not talking but acting and organising. I suggest that we concentrate on registering before the 30th June, in an accurate manner, at least one crore of members in the Congress organisation. No registration is to be deemed complete without the payment of four annas and the acceptance of the creed. We must aim at enlisting every adult member of every family. It should be our boast to have as many women as men on our registers. We should have all the Mussalmans, all the castes, all the artisans, and all the pariahs, whom we can induce to come to our register. It will then become a most democratic register of voters that the world can slow. If the suggestions made by me are acceptable, we have to concentrate our attention up to the 30th June on getting—

- (1) One crore rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund.
- (2) One crore members on the Congress register.
- (3) The spinning-wheel introduced in twenty lacs of homes.

In order to register one crore members, I estimate that we shall have canvassed at least twenty lacs of homes counting five members to a family. Workers can certainly persuade Congress families to take up one wheel per family. Twenty-five lacs of spinning-wheels in twenty-one provinces is not an ambitious scheme.

Let us not waste our resources in thinking of too many national problems and their solutions. A patient, who tries many nostrums at a time dies. A physician, who experiments on his patient with a combination of remedies, loses his reputation and passes for a quack. Chastity in work is as essential as chastity in life. All dissipation is bad. We have hitherto all pulled our own way and thus wasted away national strength in a most extravagant manner. To boycott foreign cloth within the year is a practical feasibility. To bring into being a working organisation for the Congress is an easy thing for honest workers. The collection of one crore of rupees in a methodical manner will at once create confidence and will be a tangible token of our earnestness and determination.

The programme does not mean cessation of the other activities of non-co-operation. They go on. Drink and untouchability must vanish. The education movement is steadily going forward. The national institutions that have sprung up will, if they are efficiently managed, make headway and attract students who are still hesitating. The pleaders, always a cautious and calculating class by training, will as they see the movement progressing more and more fall in line with the rest of the country. Boycott of law courts by the public is making fair progress. These things do not now require concentration of universal effort. They apply to special classes. But the three things mentioned by me are the most essential; they must be done now and without them the movement as a mass movement must be pronounced a failure.

Aftermath of Nagpur Congress Decisions

As a result of the decisions of the Nagpur Congress, the Congress workers were busy after the close of the Sessions in organizing the Provincial Congress Committees and for about two months of the year their energies were mostly directed towards the establishment of National Schools and Colleges for which a beginning had already been made before the Nagpur Congress. In pursuance of the Policy of Non-co-operation one of the Nagpur Congress resolutions passed there advised the people to refrain from taking any part in the functions arranged for the reception of His Royal Highness, the Duke of Connaught who arrived in India in January 1921 soon after the Nagpur Congress.

At the same time the Non-co-operators concentrated their attention on the constructive side of the movement. The All India Congress Committee met at Bezwada on the 31st March to consider the political situation of the country and passed resolutions placing before the country a constructive programme, namely (1) of collecting a crore of rupees for financing national propaganda and non-co-operation programme in general as per Nagpur Congress Resolution, (2) enlisting a crore of members and (3) introduction of 20 lakhs of charkhas into Indian households by the 30th of June 1921. Strenuous efforts were made by the Congress workers to complete the Bezwada programme under the guidance of Mr. Gandhi. As a result of this, rupees 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs were collected for the Tilak Swaraj Fund in the City though the actual receipts were rupees 23 lakhs. About 19,756 Congress members were enlisted and 1,887 charkhas were introduced. About 18 spinning centres were opened at different places and arrangements were made for the manufacture of the charkhas with a view to advancing the propagation of Khaddar. In the

mean-time an anti-liquor agitation was started in Bombay on 3rd June 1921 and continued in full swing up to 14th July 1921 when it was suspended by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee on the advice of Mr. Gandhi. About 331 toddy and liquor-shops were picketed by about 510 volunteers during this period. On 20th August 1921 picketing of liquor-shops was again resumed and the movement affected nearly 282 shops in Bombay up to 17th November 1921 when it stopped automatically after riots following the arrival of the Prince of Wales. The undesirable class of volunteers utilized and the intriguing character of some of the men who were directing the movement were to a certain extent responsible for the disturbances which ended in the burning of 4 and looting and damaging of 135 liquor-shops in the city.

The All India Congress Committee met on the 28th July 1921 and the following two days at Bombay and important resolutions were passed at this meeting. This All India Congress Committee meeting congratulated the Bombay public on the splendid response given by them by way of contributing 37¹/₂ lakhs to the Tilak Swaraj Fund, asked all Congress organizations to concentrate their attention upon attaining complete boycott of foreign cloth by 30th September 1921, advised people to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales, sympathised with the anti-liquor campaign and decided on the postponement of Civil Disobedience till after the completion of the boycott of foreign cloth programme by the 30th September 1921.

Having collected nearly a crore of rupees throughout India for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, Mr. Gandhi was bent upon bringing about a complete boycott of foreign cloth before the 1st of August 1921. He remained in Bombay for the most part in the months of July, August and September mainly to control the boycott campaign. He endeavoured to persuade the cloth merchants, consumers and the people in general to boycott foreign cloth. The merchants and the millowners were, however, not in a mood to act upon his advice. The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and all the non-co-operators tried their best to make the boycott movement successful. Public meetings were held, leaflets were distributed, volunteers paid house-to-house visits for the collection of discarded foreign clothes and processions were organised in the city to enlist the sympathy of the public. The 31st of July witnessed the burning of a huge pile of foreign cloth by Mr. Gandhi in the compound of the Elphin-stone Mill. Most of the All India leaders who were present in Bombay for the purpose of attending the All India Congress Committee meeting also attended the function and addressed public meetings at Chowpati on the importance of boycotting foreign cloth. The All India Congress Committee which met on the 28th July and the following two days advised all Congress organisations to concentrate their attention upon attaining the complete boycott of foreign cloth by the 30th September 1921 and on the manufacturing of Khaddar by stimulating hand-spinning and hand-weaving.

As a result of this the non-co-operators, the volunteers, the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee members, national school and college boys and those who sympathised with the movement devoted themselves to the collection of discarded clothes and the propagation of Khaddar. The second bonfire of foreign clothes was held on the 9th October 1921 in the compound of the Elphinstone Mill then belonging to Omer Sobhani. This was shortly after the arrest of Mr. Shaukat Ali in Bombay and the simultaneous arrests of Mahomed Ali and other Karachi prisoners in connection with the Karachi resolution which tampered with the loyalty of the troops. Mr. Gandhi congratulated the Ali Brothers and appealed to the people to take to *Swadeshi* if they really felt for the country and the Ali Brothers.

In the meanwhile the Congress Working Committee's meeting was also held on the 5th October when resolutions congratulating the Ali Brothers, extending the period of boycotting foreign cloth to the end of October and postponing general Civil Disobedience were passed.

Upto the 17th November 1921, the day on which His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales landed in Bombay, agitation over the boycott of foreign cloth, the picketing of liquor-shops and the boycott of the Prince's visit had been continued in full swing. The third bonfire of foreign clothes was held on the 17th November 1921 in the compound of the Elphinstone Mill just at the time the Prince landed in Bombay. The *Hartal* that was organised for this occasion did not meet with much success. By noon disturbances broke out at several places in Bombay and they resulted in many tragic occurrences.

These disturbances gave a real set-back to the movement of Non-co-operation in Bombay. Mr. Gandhi declared that he would continue to fast until the disturbances were over. He openly declared that mass civil disobedience could not be resorted to as the meaning of non-violent non-co-operation was not properly understood by the people. He immediately called a meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress which met in Bombay on the 22nd and 23rd November 1921. This meeting directed all Provincial Congress Committees to appoint volunteer boards in the respective provinces for controlling and bringing about an uniform discipline in all existing volunteer corps and gave them draft instructions for giving effect to it. It also suggested the form of a pledge to be signed by volunteers in which non-violence was insisted upon and a promise made to obey superiors and to run all risks in the performance of their duties.

In the first week of December 1921 prominent Congressmen, such as Pandit Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajpatrai, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and C. R. Das were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment as a result of action taken under the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Seditious Meetings Act applied to Bengal and the northern parts of India. The arrest of these Congress leaders resulted in the holding of a few public meetings at which the local Congress leaders congratulated the arrested leaders and appealed to the people to be prepared to go to jail in the cause of the country by coming forward as national volunteers. No noticeable progress was however made in Bombay in this direction until the Ahmedabad Congress Session was over.

Boycott of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's Visit—February 1921

In accordance with the Nagpur Congress Resolution and acting on the advice of Mr. Gandhi, the Swaraj Sabha in Bombay took up the agitation of keeping the people away from the attractions of Royal Functions by arranging for a series of lectures a month prior to the visit in February. The Bombay Native Piece-goods Merchants' Association decided on the 11th February 1921 to close the Mulji Jetha Cloth Market for three days, namely, 21st, 23rd and 28th February. About 400 private chauffeurs and a few taxi-drivers decided on 13th February 1921 to suspend their business on these three days. The New Share Bazar (now defunct) of Bombay decided on the 19th February, 1921 to do likewise. Five public meetings were held during the week of the Royal Visit expressing their determination to boycott the visit. (Please see pages 120, 185 and 207 of the *Bombay Secret Abstract for 1921*).

In this connection a reference to Mr. Gandhi's letter appearing in the issues of the *Young India* dated 1st December, 1920 and 9th February, 1921 will be of interest. (For ready reference please see pages 706 to 709 of the book " *Young India* " 1924 edition, by Baboo Rajendra Prasad).

The boycott of the Duke's Visit was not successful. Crowds of considerable size collected on the occasions of his arrival and departure. The crowds at the races which His Royal Highness attended probably beat all local records. The whole period of the visit was free from any unpleasant incident. The opposition confined itself to the organisation of *hartal* on the three chief days and of public meetings in connection therewith. The meetings were attended by audiences numbering from 1 to 5 thousand. The only item of note in connection with the Duke's Visit was the publication by R. Venkatram of a pamphlet entitled the " Choice Before India " which was a mere reproduction of articles in and contributions to the *Bombay Chronicle*.

School And Colleges

Bombay City, February 1st. The Non-co-operation Campaign—Considerable excitement now prevails in student circles in consequence of the energetic propaganda of the Nationalist leaders, who have held during the past week a dozen meetings for the benefit of the schools and colleges. Though during the month of January not more than 50 to 60 boys actually withdrew from their respective institutions, the register of intending non-co-operators maintained by the Indian Home Rule League is now believed to contain at least 700 names, and practically all the big colleges are seriously affected. During the last two days two students' meeting *inside* the Wilson College ground have been addressed by prominent non-co-operators, speaking from S. G. Banker's bouse which overlooks the College; and this morning (February 1st) a body of about 250 Wilsonians marched down to the *maidan* and were harangued by Shaukat Ali and others under the walls of St. Xavier's. The St. Xavier boys promptly came out and joined them.

Great things were hoped by the Nationalist leaders from the expected arrival in the immediate future of Gandhi, C. R. Das, and a couple of hundred non-co-operating students from Bengal; but Gandhi has now wired to say that Das cannot get away for the present. He has also instructed the local leaders to guarantee all non-co-operating students their maintenance.

No increase has occurred in the number of pupils attending the Nationalist schools already established here. To-day however the new National College will start work at the Marwadi Vidyalaya with an attendance roll of about 60 and a staff consisting of the following:—

1. Professor S. K. Puntambekar of Surat Sarvajanik College, Principal.
2. Professor Swami Narayan of the Government College, Ahmedabad.
3. Professor Muzumdar of the Fergusson College, Poona.
4. J. B. Bhansali of the Gujarat National College.
5. C. V. Vaidya of Kalyan.

The subjects of instruction are apparently to be spinning, Hindustani and village organisation; in other words, those intended to qualify for propaganda in the villages. The emphasis laid on the propagandist side of national education is becoming more marked as the national movement progresses.

On February 1st, the new National Muslim School will be opened by Haji Yusuf Sobhani on the upper floor of Haji Abdus Satar Haji Umar's Madressah at Surti Mohalla. The Madressah of which, Haji Yusuf Sobhani is a trustee still receives a Government grant.

S. R. Bomanji is contributing Rs. 10,000 towards the maintenance of non-co-operating students.

Indian National Service

The Central Khilafat Committee is enrolling a new body of Khilafat workers. The prescribed qualifications are a desire to serve Islam, the Khilafat and the country, and a knowledge of English, Urdu or Gujarati.

Boycott of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught

The Swarajya Sabha is believed to be arranging for the week of the visit a series of lectures designed to keep the people away from the Royal functions. Rumours of a *hartal* on the day of His Royal Highness' arrival are gaining strength. On January 31st a meeting of about 5,000 persons, mostly Hindu grain merchants, resolved to boycott the visit.

Bombay City, February 22nd. The Duke's Visit.—The last few days before the Duke's arrival were devoted by the non-co-operators to three more public meetings of moderate size, at which the usual boycott resolutions were passed ; and to the posting up of placards (one of two specimens forwarded, with translation, marked "A") issued by the Central Khilafat Committee and by Gandhi personally. In consequence of the prevailing uncertainty as to the reasons behind its decision to close down on the three principal days of the visit, however, the New Share Bazaar met again to explain that they were observing *hartal* and not honouring the Royal guest.

Boycott of the new Viceroy (Lord Reading)—March 1921

After the unsuccessful attempt of the non-co-operators to boycott the Duke's Visit, the Nationalists began the agitation of boycotting the arrival of the new Viceroy (Lord Reading) and held two public meetings on the 6th and 7th March 1921 expressing their determination not to accord any welcome to His Excellency on arrival and urging the Municipal Corporators not to vote an address of welcome.

The occasion however passed off peacefully.

Bombay City, March 8th. (i) *Boycott of the New Viceroy*—The Nationalists have begun an agitation to boycott the arrival of the new viceroy (Lord Reading) and have held two meetings—(1) on 6th March 1921 at Khadak and (2) on 7th March 1921 at Jitekar's Wadi to express their determination not to accord any welcome to Lord Reading on arrival and urging the Municipal Corporators not to vote an address of welcome. About 2,000 residents of A and B Wards attended the meeting at Khadak, where V. J. Patel presided. About 2,000 residents of C Ward attended the meeting at Jitekar's Wadi, where Hirji Virji presided.

(ii) *Spinning classes and arrangements*.—(a) The Swaraj Sabha has recently arranged to open public spinning classes at the following centres:—

(1) The Gujarat National School, Princess Street, working hours from 7-30 to 9 a.m. and from 8 p.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

(2) The Mandvi Swaraj Office, working hours from 8 a.m. to 10 a.m.

(3) Grant Road, Pannalal Terraces, Room 55-A, working hours from 8 a.m. to 10 a.m.

(4) Nathuram's Wadi, Thakurdwar, morning and evening.

(5) Marwadi Vidyalaya, National College premises.

(b) Arrangement has also been made to supply spinning wheels, yarn, ready rolls of cotton, etc., at Khadi Bhandar, Kalbadevi Road, or at Banker's place, Chowpati Road.

(iii) *All-India Congress Committee*.—It is announced that a meeting of this Committee will be held at Bezvada on the 31st March 1921, when leaders from all provinces are expected to attend.

(iv) *Near East Conference*.—The following telegram was received by the Central Khilafat Committee, Bombay on 3rd March 1921, from Abul Kalam Azad, Calcutta:—

"Nothing yet finally decided. Impossible proceeding before twelfth mail."

This refers to the intention to send Abul Kalam Azad to Europe as religious adviser to Chotani and his companions. (Reported in last weekly letter).

Bombay City, March 15th. (i) *Boycott to Lord Reading*.—During the week under report another meeting (i.e. the third) of the residents of D Ward was held on the 9th instant at Jitekar's Wadi in connection with the boycott of Lord Reading's arrival. The usual resolution of non-participation in the functions, etc., held in honour of the new Viceroy was passed. About 700 persons attended. Y. V. Nene presided.

(ii) M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay on the 15th instant.

(iii) *Boycott*.—The following telegram was sent by the Central Khilafat Committee, Bombay, to the Secretary, Khilafat Committee, Meerut, on March 7th:—

"Exhibition If conducted by Government must be boycotted."

(iv) *Action under 144, C. P. C*.—The following is a telegram from Sahukat Ali, Bombay, to "Provincial", Meerut, dated March 10, regarding notices by Government under section 144:—

"Your telegram. Practice of issuing notices by Government under 144 and how to meet situation under consideration. Wire dates of Khilafat Conference so that agenda and programme may be prepared."

Bezwada All-India Congress Committee—March 1921

In March 1921, the All-India Congress Committee met at Bezwada to consider the political situation of the country. It passed a resolution placing the following programme before the country commonly known as "The Bezwada Programme":—

1. To collect one crore of rupees.
2. To enlist one crore of members.
3. To introduce 20 lakhs of charkhas before the end of June 1921.

The *Bombay Chronicle* of 3rd April 1921 published the text of the resolutions passed by the All-India Congress Committee at Bezwada. They are as follows:

Tilak Swaraj Fund, Congress membership, etc.

Resolution No. 1.—In the opinion of the All-India Congress Committee, all Congress organisations and workers should concentrate their attention chiefly upon (1) bringing the All-India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund to one

crore of rupees before 30th June next, each Congress province to collect in ratio of its population, (2) putting on the Congress register one crore of members before 30th June next, each province to contribute the number of members in ratio of its population and (3) introducing timely into villages and houses 20 lakhs of " charkhas " (spinning wheels) in good working order and before 30th June next, each province to introduce the number of charkhas in ratio of its population.

Boycott of Government Law Courts

Resolution No. 2.—The All-India Congress Committee congratulates the country on the rapid progress made in the organisation of the Panchayats and trusts that the people will make still great efforts to boycott Government Law Courts.

Campaign against Drink

Resolution No. 3.—The Congress Committee congratulates the country on its spontaneous response to the principle of self-purification underlying the movement of non-violent non-co-operation by taking up the campaign against the drink evil and trusts that the habit of taking intoxicating drinks and drugs will totally disappear from the land by persistent and continued efforts of self-sacrificing workers.

Civil Disobedience

Resolution No. 4.—Civil Disobedience was adopted in principle and the languages was left to be drafted by Mr. Gandhi.

Nankana Tragedy

Resolution No. 5.—The All-India Congress Committee expresses its sense of horror over the Nankana Massacre and tenders its respectful condolences to the families of the victims of the tragedy and assures the Sikhs of its sympathy with them in the heavy losses suffered by them.

Burmans Congratulated

Resolution No. 6.—The meeting of the All-India Congress Committee congratulates the Burmese nation in their great struggle for freedom and sympathises with them and with Mr. Uttama in their trouble created by the repressive measures adopted by the Government Resolution.

Congratulations to the Political Sufferers

Resolution No. 7.—The All-India Congress Committee congratulates all those who are suffering by way of imprisonment or otherwise in the cause of religion and India's freedom.

National or Satyagraha Week—6th April to 13th April 1921

The National or " Satyagraha " Week came to be observed by the nation as a result of the Punjab Wrongs and in memory of the Jalianwalla Bagh. In April 1921 after the Bezwada All-India Congress Committee was over the nationalists wanted to collect a crore of Rs., a crore of members for the Congress and to introduce 20 lakhs of " charkhas " as laid down in Bezwada programme. The national week from the 6th to the 13th April was chiefly devoted to the collections of the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Mr. Gandhi's message for

the observance of this week was published by Mr. Shankerlal G. Banker of the Bombay Swaraj Sabha in the form of placards posted up in the city at conspicuous places. The message ran as follows:—

" Observe fast for 24 hours commencing from the evening previous to the 6th and 13th April. Observe *hartal*, suspending business on the 6th and 13th April (1921). Pass the day in tranquillity. Contribute to the Tilak Swaraj Fund according to your means and resolve (1) To gain *Swaraj* this year (2) Solve the Khilafat Question and (3) Obtain justice for the Punjab affairs. "

Details of the Satyagraha Week

5th April, evening.—A public meeting at Dadar was held under the presidency of Narhar Shivram Paranjpe. 1,000 people attended. The attention of the audience was invited to (1) Collection of one crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, (2) Raising the membership of the Congress and (3) Introduction of spinning-wheels.

6th April.—It being the 1st day of the Satyagraha Week a partial *hartal* was observed in the City. The *hartal* was hardly a success as it was noticeable only in localities such as Sheikh Memon Street, Mandvi Khadak, Chakla and Share Bazaar. In the other parts of the city only a few shops were closed. The mills worked as usual, victorias plied for hire the whole day, and tea and pan-shops remained open. The day passed off without any untoward event except that some 20 volunteers asked the C. P. Tank and Princess Street Co-operative Stores Branches to close down. The day ended with a public meeting presided over by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and addressed by Lala Lajpatrai, Lala Gordhandas, V. J. Patel and Pickthall, all of whom advised the audience to carry out the Bezwada programme.

7th April.—A similar meeting to the one mentioned above, attended by 3,000 labourers, was addressed by A. B. Kolhatkar, R. S. Nimbkar, Lala Lajpatrai and D. R. Mayekar.

8th April.—A public meeting at Matunga for the same purpose was held in the evening.

9th April.—A public meeting at Dadar addressed by Jamnadas Mehta, V. J. Patel and C. V. P. Shivam was held for the same object.

10th April.—Mr. Gandhi having returned from Madras, two public meetings at Mandvi and Parel were held. At the Mandvi meeting Rs. 10,000 were collected for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, which were handed over to Mr. Gandhi.

11th April.—No activity.

12th April.—Do.

13th April.—This was the last day of the Satyagraha Week. The city observed only a partial *hartal*, similar to that of the 6th April and collections were made for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. The day ended with the holding of three public meetings at Shantaram's Chawl, at Mandvi and at the Marwadi Vidyalaya.

Bombay City, April 12th—National or Satyagraha Week, 6th to 13th April— 5th April.—A public meeting under the auspices of the ' G' Ward District Congress Committee was held at Kirtikar's Wadi, Dadar, at 9-30 p.m., on the 5th instant, when Narhar Shivram Paranjpe presided over an audience of a thousand persons. "The People's duty during the National Week" was the theme of the speeches delivered by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and

Dr. N. D. Savarkar. The attention of the audience was focussed on three principal points, viz., (i) Collection of one crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund (Dadar having got to enrol 3,000 members and collect 3,000 rupees), (ii) Raising the membership of the Congress Committees to one crore, and (iii) Introduction of a number of spinning wheels in every family.

6th April (Hartal).—On the 1st day of the Satyagraha week a partial *hartal* was observed in the city. The *hartal* was hardly a success from the nationalist point of view, as it was noticeable only in localities such as Sheikh Memon Street (where the cloth markets and jewellery bazaar are located), Mandvi, Khadak and Chakla. The Share Bazaar was also closed. In the other parts of the city only a few shops were closed. The Mills worked as usual, victorias plied for hire the whole day, tea and pan-shops remained open. The day passed off without any untoward event, except that some 20 volunteers asked the C. P. Tank and Princess Street Co-operative Stores branches to close down.

At 6-30 in the evening a public meeting was held at Shantaram's Chawl under the auspices of the Swaraj Sabha Central Khilafat Committee, the Indian Home Rule League and the Bombay National Union. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presided and Lala Lajpatrai, Lala Gordhandas, V. J. Patel and Marmaduke Pickthall exhorted the audience, which numbered about 10,000, to contribute to the Swaraj Fund, enlist as Congress members and introduce 20 lakhs of " Charkhas " as decided by the All-India Congress Committee at Bezwada. A resolution to this effect was passed at the meeting.

Another meeting of a similar nature was held at Khadak, Mandvi, at 9-30p.m. under the presidency of Naranji Dayal. A resolution similar to the one passed at Shantaram's Chawl was carried.

7th April.—At 8-30 p.m. a public meeting of the mill-hands residing at Chinchpokli and neighbouring localities was held under the presidency of Achut Balwant Kolhatkar at Munji Shetts' Wadi, Chinchpokli, Lala Lajpatrai, R. S. Nimbkar D. R. Mayekar and others explained to the labourers the necessity of becoming members of the Congress and thus strengthening the prospects of India gaining Swaraj in a few months. About 3,000 labourers attended.

8th April.—At 9-30 p.m. a public meeting of the residents of Matunga was held in the open space near the Matunga Railway Station under the presidency of V. J. Patel. About 1,000 persons attended. Patel and Dr. N. D. Savarkar were the prominent speakers. They exhorted the people to do their duty to the country and the Congress by (i) Contributing to the Tilak Swaraj Fund, (ii) taking to spinning wheels and (iii) enlisting as members on the Congress register. Dr. Savarkar made reference to the legalised plunder committed by the British Government in India by way of taxes, etc.

9th April.—At 9 p.m. about 500 residents of Dadar held a meeting under the auspices of the 'G' Ward District Congress Committee at Kirtikar's Wadi, V. J. Patel presiding. Patel, Jamnadas M. Mehta and G. V. P. Shivam exhorted the people to contribute to the Tilak Swaraj Fund and to become members of the Congress Committees. Jamnadas Mehta suggested that the temperance movement should be worked up so as to free people from the drink evil, while Shivam advocated the support of home manufactures, especially spinning.

10th April.—Gandhi having returned from Madras in the morning, the Swaraj Sabha organised two public meetings for the day, viz., (i) for the Mandvi merchants at Khadak at 4-45 p.m. and (ii) for the labourers at Elphinstone Road, Parel, at 9 p.m. At both meetings strong appeals

were made by Gandhi and others to help the national cause by contributing to the Tilak Swaraj Fund and by enlisting as members of the Congress Committees. Gandhi emphasised the need for introducing spinning wheels and boycotting foreign cloth for the attainment of *Swaraj*. At the Khadak meeting about Rs. 10,000 were collected and handed over to Gandhi. The sum included a thousand rupees worth of ornaments given on the spur of the moment by the ladies present and two thousand rupees contributed by the Katha Bazaar merchants and grocers of Mandvi.

Moulvi Abdul Wahidkhan *alias* Muslim Vellori, son of Adam Khan of Vellore, Madras, has been appointed a preacher by the Central Khilafat Committee, Bombay, on Rs. 50 per mensem. He will get all his touring expenses in addition to his pay.

Tilak Swaraj Fund, Bombay City

In consequence of strong appeals made by Gandhi and other Nationalists to collect one crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund as decided by the Bezwada All-India Congress Committee in March 1921, the Nationalists workers and volunteers were busy collecting subscriptions in aid of the fund from the Satya-graha Week to the end of June 1921. Owing to Gandhi's personal influence about 37 and a half Jakhs had been collected for the Tilak Swaraj Fund in the City. The actual amounts collected were Rs. 23,55,326-1-10 whereas about 15 lakhs remained to be collected from various donors. A list showing (1) the amounts subscribed and (2) the amounts paid by donors who contributed over 5,000 rupees is attached hereto for ready reference. Below is a statement of accounts showing the amount collected the objects of expenditure, investments of the existing balances and the programme for utilisation of the Tilak Swaraj Fund drawn up in June 1921:—

I. Amounts collected—		Rs.	a.	p.
Funds		23,03,128	6	10
Miscellaneous (sale of ornaments and tickets)		32,953	13	9
Interest account, brokerage, etc.		19,243	13	3
Total		23,55,326	1	10
II. Objects of expenditure-				
Quota, to All-India Congress Committee		5,20,475	11	5
Bombay Provincial Congress Committee for propaganda and other expenses.		1,66,021	5	0
Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee for Khadi		3,00,000	0	0
Khadi Bhandar, Bombay		60,000	0	0
Hyderabad (Deccan) Congress Committee—Mr. Badrul Hussain, Bar-at-Law, for Khadi.		40,000	0	0
For Depressed Classes		28,399	0	0
For Independent Paper, Allahabad		37,500	0	0
Nadiad Congress Committee for National Education		10,000	0	0
For Untouchability to Ahmedabad Vidyapith		5,000	0	0
Female Education		3,000	0	0
Labour Unions, Ahmedabad		25,000	0	0
Sundry Expenses		514	0	0
		11,95,910	0	0

III. <i>Existing Balances—</i>	Rs.	a	p.
Investments—	11,59,416	1	5
Central Bank of India Ltd. fixed deposit at 6¼ per cent	2,00,000	0	0
Union Bank of India Ltd. fixed deposit at 7 per cent	2,50,000	0	0
Baroda Bank of India Ltd. fixed deposit at 6½ per cent	2,00,000	0	0
Punjab Bank of India Ltd. fixed deposit at 6 per cent	1,00,000	0	0
Morvi Bank of India Ltd. fixed deposit at 7 per cent	1,00,000	0	0
Asoka Swadeshi Stores Ltd. fixed deposit at 8½ per cent	2,00,000	0	0
	10,50,000		0
	1,09,416		5
Cash Balances in Banks	11,59,416		5

- IV. *Programme for utilization—*
1. The spread of Spinning Wheel and Khadi,
 2. The conduct of National Schools,
 3. The elevation of the Depressed Classes,
 4. Famine Relief, and
 5. Liquor Prohibition.

<i>Balance Sheet—</i>	Rs.	a.	p.
1st October 1922 Cash and Investments	17,06,388	0	10
30th June 1923	13,18,414	5	11
30th September 1923	12,76,617	4	1
31st March 1924	7,33,161	1	5
30th September 1924	2,80,948	10	3
With Property-holders of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	1,49,996	12	6

Tilak Swaraj Fund Trustees—

1. Revashanker Jagjivan,
2. Raghawji Purshottam,
3. Laxmidas Rowji Tairsee,
4. Umer Sobhani,
5. Jamnalal Bajaj,
6. R. S. Padbidri,
7. A. B. Godrej,
8. Velji Lakhamsi,
9. Mathooradas Tricumjee,
10. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and
11. B. N. Motiwalla.

Property-holders of the Tilak Swaraj Fund—

(In-charge of Proctor Road property purchased in 1924)

1. Revashanker Jagjivan,
2. Laxmidas Rowji Tairsee,
3. Velji Lakhamsi,
4. B. N. Motiwalla and
5. Mathooradas Tricumjee.

List of persons who have subscribed Rs. 5,000 and over to the " Tilak Swaraj Fund"

Name of subscriber	Amount subscribed	Amount paid	Balance to be paid	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
Jainarayan Indumal Dani	5,00,000	--	5,00,000	
Ardesir Barjorji Godrej	3,00,000	--	3,00,000	
Anandilal Potdar (Marwari)	2,00,000	--	2,00,000	
Haji Usuf Sobhani	1,00,000	--	1,00,000	
Velji Lakhamshi Napoo	50,000	50,000	--	
Shankerlal Ghelabhai Banker	25,000	--	25,000	
Revashanker Jagjivan	25,000	25,000	--	
Mukund R. Jayakar	25,000	25,000	--	
Raghavji Purushottam	25,000	25,000	--	
Chotalal Maganlal Kothari	25,000	25,000	--	
Hiralal Bakorbhai	25,000	25,000	--	
Suraimal Harnandrai Ruya	60,000	60,000	--	
Narotam Bhanji	10,001	10,001	--	
Abubakar Jusub Silverwalla	10,001	10,001	--	
Javeri Mandal Association, through Gulab- chand Devchand.	3,00,000	2,82,000	18,000	
Share Bazaar Merchants' Association, through Jamnadas Morarji.	3,00,000	2,70,000	3,000	
Sweetmeat sellers, through Govindji Vasanji	10,000	10,000	--	
Rastrya Stree Sabha, through Attia Begum	32,000	32,000	--	
Yarn, Brass and Copper Merchants	35,000	35,000	--	
Cotton Merchants' Association through Mathuradas V. Khimji.	2,50,000	1,40,000	1,10,000	
Coal Merchants, through Mr. Desai	50,000	50,000	--	
Fort Congress Committee, through Mathuradas Tricumji.	1,50,000	1,50,000	--	
Mandvi Congress Committee, being collections from all associations and markets like Rice Market, Kariana Bazaar, Dana Bunder, etc.	6,00,000	4,60,000	1,40,000	
Patidar and Khatri Mandal	10,000	10,000	--	
Bombay Carpenters and Tailors	2,000	2,000	--	
Dhobis of Bombay	500	500	--	
Workers of Globe Mill	1,500	1,500	--	
Workers of Khatau Mill	2,000	2,000	--	
I. G. Gajjar	1,600	1,600	--	
Manecklal Premchand Raichand	2,251	2,251	--	
Grain Dealers' Association, through Hansraj-bhai.	1,70,000	80,000	90,000	
Bombay Shroff Mahajan Mandal, through Manilal Gokulbhai.	40,000	40,000	--	
Bombay Commission Agents and Lingayat Commission Agents, through Narayan Bal- want Deshpande.	5,001	5,001	--	
Ramibai Kamdar, collected from Stree Mandal	5,000	5,000	--	
Clerks of Pleaders of the Small Causes Court	500	500	--	
Gold and Silver Merchants, through Gomajee	10,000	10,000	--	
Workers of the Bradbury Mills, through Man- chershah E. Mehta.	601	601	--	
Collected by Avantikabai Gokhale	10,000	10,000	--	
Matunga people, through Jivraj Gokuldas Nensi	50,000	40,000	10,000	
Parsee Rakiya Sabha, through Burjorji Framji Bharucha.	30,001	30,001	--	
Lakhmidas Khimji Market, through Hiralal Amrutlal.	35,000	35,000	--	
Mulji Jetha Market, through Narandas Pur- shottamdas.	50,000	50,000	--	
Chemical and Drug Merchants, through I. G. Gajjar.	12,000	12,000	--	

1	2	3	4	5
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
Laxmi Kant Natak Mandali	27,000	27,000	--	
Arya Naitik Natak Mandali	5,000	5,000	--	
Gandharvas and Lalitkala Darsha Natak Mandalis (combined).	15,000	15,000	--	
Blacksmiths and Carpenters, through Hari Vallabhadas.	2,000	2,000	--	
Hotel Keepers one Day's Sales	2,000	2,000	--	
Mochi Mandal, through Hirji	2,500	2,500	--	
Retail Sales of Tilak Swaraj Fund Tickets	50,000	50,000	--	
One Marwadi named Birla	50,000	--	50,000	
Total	36,98,455	21,25,455	15,73,000	

Non-co-operation and Spinning Propaganda

The Calcutta Special Session of the Congress held in September 1920 passed a resolution advising the adoption of *Swadeshi* and the revival of hand-spinning and hand-weaving. The activities of the Non-Co-operators in this direction were rather dull till the Nagpur Congress was over. After the Nagpur Congress in December 1920 where much stress was laid by Gandhi on the importance of spinning, the Bombay Nationalists took up the question in March 1921. Several centres in Bombay were opened by the Swaraj Sabha for teaching spinning to the public. Below is the statement of these centres with the names of the instructors in spinning:

STATEMENT
Spinning Centres and Instructors

	Centre	Instructor
1.	Chaupatti	Chamanlal Balubhai Joshi.
2.	Princess Street	Arjoonlal Dhirajram Dhandeo.
3.	Marathi National School	Dayashanker Bhatt.
4.	Nathooram Wadi	Vishnu G. Vaid.
5.	Panalal Terraces	Shankerlal B. Vaishnav.
6.	Mandvi	Damodar C. Maniar.
7.	Goa Street	Hansraj Damodar.
8.	Gamdevi	--
9.	Karanjia Building, Grant Road	--
10.	Parvati Building, Thakurdwar	--
11.	Cheval-Wadi, Girgaum	G. B. Velkar.
12.	Lal-Bagh, Parel	Bhujang Sharma.
13.	National School, Princess Street	--
14.	Near Mandvi Police Chowky	--
15.	Union Society Hall, Mandvi	--
16.	Dr. Save's place, Benam Hall Lane, Girgaum.	--
17.	Bagha Mansions, Parel	--
18.	Bhuleshwar Kabutarkhana Temple.	--

Number of Spinning Wheels introduced

The number of charkhas or spinning-wheels introduced in Bombay up to "May 1921 was estimated at about 1,887.

Manufacture of Charkhas

To supply charkhas to the Bombay Public, arrangements were made by the non-co-operators to have charkhas made at the following places :—

- 1. Lal Bagh, Parel—at Bharat Furniture Work, and at the shops of M.A. Maulvi and Dhanji Dayal, Furniture Makers.
- 2. Kalbadevi Road—at Chaganlal Mansukhlal and Company.
- 3. Kumbharwada at the shop of Chaganlal Soonderji, Furniture Maker.
- 4. Khetwadi Main Road—at the shop of Devsi Meghji.
- 5. Sandhurst Road—at the shop of N. S. Jadhav and Company.
- 6. Chaupatti at the house of S. G. Banker.

Khaddar

The sale of khaddar, calculated on an average, was to the extent of —

- Rs. 18,000 in July 1921,
 - Rs. 13,000 in August 1921.
 - Rs. 7,000 in September 1921
- in the Khadi Bhandar of Bombay.

Congress Membership

In response to the appeal made by the Nationalists to enrol membership for the Congress in pursuance to the Bezwada decisions, the 7 District Congress Committees in the city succeeded in enlisting members as shown against them up to May 1921 :—

" A "	-Fort District Congress Committee	776
" B "	-Mandvi District Congress Committee	2,400
" C "	-Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee	5,283
" D "	-Girgaum District Congress Committee	5,580
" E "	-Byculla District Congress Committee	528
" F "	-Parel District Congress Committee	2,501
" G "	-Dadar District Congress Committee	2,688
Total		19,756

Indian National Service

In February 1921 when the agitation among the students was going on Mr. Vithalbhai J. Patel drew up a scheme, apparently a scheme of national service resolved upon by the Nagpur Congress of December 1920, asking the non-co-operation students to devote themselves to national work. This scheme was published in the *Bombay Chronicle* of 7th February 1921 and reproduced in full in paragraph 153 (39) (E) of *Bombay Secret Abstract* dated the 12th February 1921, pages 152 to 154.

The Nationalists' latest ideas about the utilisation of non-co-operating students are embodied in the scheme of V. J. Patel which is set forth in the following cutting from the *Chronicle* dated the 7th February. Students under training are to spend their spare time in and near Bombay collecting for the Swarajya Fund and doing other national work. The finished article is to go into the mofussil and there, in consultation with the local Congress Committees,

fill in his time with social work and political propaganda, devoting special attention to Swadeshi, forced labour, *rasai* and the formation of volunteer corps; and not forgetting the need of weaning the ryot from his litigious habits. This is apparently the scheme of National Service resolved upon by the Nagpur Congress:—

Students and Non-co-operation. How to devote to National Work

Mr. Patel's Scheme

The following is Mr. Patel's Scheme for Non-co-operation students. It was discussed, approved and adopted at a meeting of students who have withdrawn from schools and colleges and who desire to devote themselves to National work held in the hall of Marwari Vidyalaya on the 30th January last:—

PART I

General Instructions

- (1) Plain-living, high-thinking, regular habits. One kind of dress for all.
- (2) Truth under any circumstances.
- (3) Vow in favour of Swadeshi, non-smoking, and total abstinence.
- (4) Students shall organise themselves into separate bands of 20 each with a captain elected by each band. This will facilitate and simplify much of the work in the initial stages.
- (5) Each student should select the village or villages in which he proposes to start work and give intimation of it to the Advisory Board. It shall be open to students to take counsel from the Board in making this selection. The board shall have power to make the final allotment of villages to students, but in doing so they shall take into consideration the selection made by each student.
- (6) No student can start work unless he satisfies the Advisory Board of his capability to undertake it.
- (7) Advisory Committee will undertake to find ways and means for the up-keep and maintenance of all the student workers who stand in need of it in accordance with the rules made by the Board in consultation with the students.
- (8) Students under training shall engage themselves in collecting subscriptions to the Tilak Swaraj Fund or do such other national work in and round about Bombay in spare hours according to the instructions of the Advisory Board.
- (9) Subject to general instructions of the Advisory Committee from time to time, student workers shall be under the control and direction of the Congress Committee to which the Village Committee concerned is subordinate and they will refer all matters of doubt and difficulties to that Congress Committee.

PART II

Village Work

(Compulsory, i.e., the workers shall undertake).

- (1) To organise a Congress Committee, for a Village or a group of Villages or to strengthen the existing one by enlisting as many new members as possible.
- (2) To collect subscriptions for the Tilak Swaraj Fund.
- (3) To encourage the use of Swadeshi articles and discourage the use of foreign articles as far as possible.

(4) To discourage litigation among people and induce them to refer their deputed to the Panchayat appointed by the Village Congress Committee as far as possible.

(5) To start temperance work in right earnest with a view to the total prohibition of liquor and other intoxicant drugs.

(6) To encourage spinning and hand-loom weaving with a view to increase the production of Swadeshi cloth and foster home industries.

(7) To encourage people to learn Hindustani.

(8) To read and explain to the people daily, if possible, one Nationalist paper, say Navjivan, in Gujarat and Kesari in the Deccan.

(9) To help to relieve the sufferings of the villagers in regard to forced labour, free provisions and other petty harassment by officials.

To explain to the people the following:—

(1) The Congress and its constitution.

(2) Non-co-operation movement, laying special emphasis on the desirability and necessity of keeping the movement pure and free from all violence, and telling them that self-restraint, self-sacrifice and suffering should be our watchwords.

(3) Rowlatt Act, the Passive Resistance movement, and the Punjab Atrocities.

(4) Khilafat Question.

(5) Non-Co-operation movement in otherlands, particularly in Hungary.

(6) Economic condition of our people under British Rule as compared with that of self-governing people.

(7) Repressive measures on the Statute Book, their object and use.

(8) Reform Act and what it does not give, and why it has been boycotted by the Congress.

(9) What we want.

(10) To maintain a register of the grievances of the people and help them in remedying them as far as possible with the help of the Congress Committees

(11) To organise meetings of the Depressed Classes from time to time and take steps to remove untouchability.

(12) To induce able-bodied starving people to go to work and try to help other classes of starving people. To maintain a register of people suffering from incurable or infectious diseases and send it on to the Taluka Congress Committee.

(13) To organise Volunteer Corps.

Village Work

(Optional i.e., the workers may undertake)

(1) To establish a library or a reading room.

(2) To establish Primary National Schools or night classes or both.

(3) To start charitable dispensary or free distribution of medicine.

(4) To start relief work wherever necessary.

(5) To concert measures for sanitary improvements, including the supply of pure drinking water.

(6) To take steps to effect agricultural improvements.

(7) To start Banks and other institutions on a co-operative basis.

The student worker in carrying on this propaganda detailed above should act in close association and co-operation with the Village Congress Committee.

PART III

Course of instructions for Non-Co-operation Students

- (1) Congress constitution and how to organise Congress Committee.
- (2) Rowlatt Act and other repressive measures.
- (3) History of the Kaira Passive Resistance movement.
- (4) The Punjab Atrocities and the Amritsar massacre.
- (5) Satyagraha Movement.
- (6) Khilafat question.
- (7) Non-Co-operation Movement in all its aspects.
- (8) Tilak Swaraj Fund and how to collect it.
- (9) Temperance.
- (10) How to discharge litigation and the Village Panchayat.
- (11) The Reform Act.
- (12) The Last War and its lesson.
- (13) Conditions of India under British Rule.
- (14) Non-co-operation movement in other lands.
- (15) Swadeshi and Boycott.
- (16) Lessons in Hindustani.
- (17) Forced labour and free provisions by officials.
- (18) Treatment of Indians in British Colonies.
- (19) Militarism and Imperialism.
- (20) Depressed Classes.
- (21) Some useful statistics.
- (22) How to carry on Congress propaganda in villages.
- (23) Reformed Councils a farce.
- (24) The Champaran Episode.

This scheme remained practically on paper only though a few of his ideals were followed by the students of the Andheri Sadak Ashram, Thana District, for the purpose of training students for national work.

Boycott of Contracts

In January 1921 the Umbrella Trade Association followed the lead of the Bombay Woollen and Fancy Cotton Piece goods Association and as a protest against the current exchange policy decided to order no more goods from abroad till the end of August 1921 meanwhile refusing to pay for goods already ordered or received till the exchange stood once more at two shillings to the rupee. Similar action was contemplated by the Association of Ship Chandlers.

Bombay City, March 15th—At a meeting of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta in February 1921, a resolution was passed to the effect that no action should be taken by the public on the resolution regarding the repudiation of contracts except at a satisfactory rate of exchange pending publication of the report and recommendation of the Committee appointed thereunder.

This Committee also known as the Exchange Sub-Committee met in Bombay from 20th to 21st March 1921 and issued their report which was published in the *Bombay Chronicle* of 24th March 1921 and reproduced *in toto* on pages 351 to 358 of *Bombay Secret Abstract* dated 2nd April 1921.

APPENDIX A

The following report has been submitted by the Committee appointed by the Indian National Congress regarding the situation arising out of the Exchange problems to the General Secretary of the Congress Committee:

To

Pandit Motilal Nehru
General Secretary,
All India Congress Committee, Allahabad.

Dear Sir,

We, the undersigned members of the Committee appointed under Resolution No. 5 of the last Congress to deal with the situation arising out of Exchange problems, beg to send you the following report of the meeting of the Committee held in Bombay on 20th and 21st March.

Besides the members of the Committee invitations were sent to prominent Mercantile Associations in all the principal trade centres to send representatives, and financial experts and leading merchants were also requested to join.

In spite of the short notice, representatives from Karachi, Amritsar, Delhi and Bombay attended the meeting. Telegrams expressing full sympathy were received from merchants and associations from Lahore, Calcutta, Madras, Delhi, and Wardha (Central Provinces). Some who could not personally come sent their views in writing. Others interested in the matters under discussion were present as visitors.

Members of the Committee present were:—

Messrs. (1) Hansraj Pragji Thackersy, (2) Naraindas Purshottamdas (Bombay), (3) Amerchand Khosla (Delhi), and (4) Girdharilal (Amritsar).

The names of representatives of various associations are given below :—

- (1) Mr. J. K. Mehta,
- (2) B. F. Madan, Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, Bombay.
- (3) Mr. Radha Kishan, Amritsar Piece Goods Association and Importers' Association, Amritsar.
- (4) Mr. Ram Rachpal, Satnarain Piece Goods Association, Karachi.
- (5) Mr. Chanirai Virbhandas, Satnarain Piece Goods Association, Karachi.
- (6) Mr. Lokhumal, Satnarain Piece Goods Association, Karachi.
- (7) Mr. Abdulla Jan Mahomed, Sundries Merchants' Association, Karachi.
- (8) Mr. Jessa Ram, Sundries Merchants' Association, Karachi.
- (9) Mr. Mahomed Taffi, Sundries Merchants' Association, Delhi
- (10) Mr. Narainji Dyal, English Bleached and White Shirting Merchants' Association, Bombay.
- (11) Mr. Motilal Naraindas, Fancy Prints Association, Bombay-
- (12) Mr. -Dhanji Vallabhji, Woollen Piece Goods Merchants' Association, Bombay.
- (13) Mr. Dehichand Bhagwanjee, Bleached Dhoties and Fancy Goods Association, Bombay.
- (14) Mr. Harjiwan Walji, Native Piece Goods Merchants' Association, Bombay.

- (15) Mr. Gokuldas Jivraj, Native Piece Goods Merchants' Association, Bombay.
- (16) Mr. Devidas Madhavji Thackersey, Native Piece Goods Merchants, Association, Bombay.
- (17) Mr. Lalji Govindjee, Native Piece Goods Merchants' Association, Bombay.
- (18) Mr. L. R. Tairsee, Bombay.

Messrs. Amirchand Khosla and Girdharilal also represented the Delhi Hindustan Mercantile Association, Delhi, and the Lahore Traders' Union, Lahore, respectively.

The Committee first met on 20th instant at 1-00 p.m. and adjourned for the next day at 7 p.m. after appointing a sub-committee of Messrs. Hansraj Pragji Thackersey, Chanirai, Mohommed Taqi, Naraindas Purushottamdas, B. F. Madan, L. R. Tairsee, Amirchand Khosla and Girdharilal to draft resolutions. These were thoroughly discussed in the second sitting of the Committee on the 21st lasting for several hours and were passed as under. Mr. Hansraj Pragji Thackersey was in the chair in all meetings and Mr. Girdharilal acted as Convenor.

RESOLUTIONS

I. This Committee, appointed to deal with the situation arising out of Congress Resolution No. 5 of the Nagpur Session, has carefully considered the various representations placed before it, and has had the benefit of expert advice and has come to the conclusion that in view of the various definite steps as stated below deliberately taken by the Government, against emphatic and continuous protests from the Indian public, to interfere with our currency and exchange position, in order to establish the rupee at 2 this Committee sees no reasons to suggest any modifications of the said resolution:—

- (1) The sale of reverse bills even at enormous loss to this country.
- (2) The re-valuation of all our reserves in the Paper Currency Department
- (3) The recasting of the Government accounts at the new rate.
- (4) The declaration of the official value of the sovereign after a certain date as equal to Rs. 10 instead of Rs. 15.
- (5) The amendment of the Indian Coinage Act.
- (6) The amendment of the Indian Paper Currency Act tending to the same object.
- (7) The calculation of the pound at 10 rupees for money order purposes. *Government Policy dictated by Britain's interests.*

II. This Committee also finds that the policy of the Government has been far more dictated by the interests of the United Kingdom, than by those of India, as may be seen from the following facts:—

- (a) The deliberate keeping back of gold from India in spite of protests of all leading Indian publicists since the closing of the mints.
- (b) Compelling India to be satisfied with a token coin instead of a sound honest gold currency.
- (c) Penalising India in making use of Indian foodstuffs, raw materials and munition, during the war, not only for the United Kingdom alone but for all Allied Powers.

(d) Keeping exchange artificially at an unfavourable rate for India, while making payments in sterling — whereas America and Japan and even Canada were paid in their own currency.

(e) The frequent restrictions on the free movement of commodities when it suited the requirements of the United Kingdom.

(f) Depriving India of the right to free import of the precious metals to which it was entitled to in payment for its exports.

(g) The raising of the rate of exchange after the war in order to encourage the dumping of British goods in India to the benefit of British manufacturers and the British Treasury in the form of the enhanced amount it realised in excess profit tax on account of these benefits, and at the same time improved the balance of trade in favour of England.

(h) The transfer of our sterling credits in England so accumulated during the war back to India at disastrous rates in order to obviate the danger of Indian calling for them in gold one day a few years after.

A grave and deep Injustice to India

These and other reasons are conclusive proof that a policy of grave and deep injustice to India has been followed by the Government all these years.

III. This Committee finds that the opportunity for the sale of enormous amount of Reverse Bills at disastrous rates arose directly out of the fact that India has been compelled to accept sterling credits at 16 to 18 *d.* during the war, whereas it was entitled to payment by the United Kingdom of its original outlay in rupees, and therefore this Committee is of definite opinion that the Congress is quite justified in calling upon the British Treasury to make good the loss so suffered by India on account of the sales of these Reverse Bills to the extent of at least 40 to 50 crores of rupees.

IV. This Committee while pointing out that during the course of the war, when prices went up, British merchants and manufacturers in the United Kingdom, without any cause, demanded higher rates and heavy extra allowances and obtained some as otherwise they threatened cancellation of contracts maintains that the present attitude of Indian traders is not based on similar motives, and declares that if the situation in India were the result of natural causes, the dealers without hesitation would make payments of their bills, irrespective of the facts of their having to bear heavy and ruinous losses in doing so. But the present serious condition is caused and thrown on the shoulders of the merchants as a case of *force majeure* due to the meddling of the Government in exchange and is therefore the result of an Act of State. The people in the country have no control over the policy of the Government followed against their expressed wishes and representation.

Indian traders—Victims of circumstances

In the face of this it ill-becomes the Secretary of State, the responsible Associations in England, and the responsible officers of a Government that repudiated its undertakings under the gold exchange standard, when it did suit them to do so, to now decry against the morality of traders in this country and to put great pretensions on their own probity of dealings in spite of the actual false positions adopted by them as referred to above. If the traders in India were a party to Government interference, then they would have no case to pursue, the only course left to them now in making for facilities but being victims of circumstances created by the Government the whole blame, moral and legal rests on the authorities in India as well as in England. Dealers do not repudiate

their contract in any way. Such a statement is pure fiction, as even settlements at two shillings basis will not cover up their losses. They only demand the rate that the Government gave every reason to the public to count upon, to enable them to do all they can possibly to meet their responsibilities. Nothing could be more clear and emphatic in this connection than the following pronouncement of the Finance Member on the occasion of the introduction of the Coinage Act Amendment Bill. He then said:—

" The legislation which we now propose to undertake marks our final acceptance of our determination to carry out one of the principal recommendations of the recent Committee on Indian Currency."

It is known to many that the Government made every effort possible in this country when the war began to obtain extensions of time for deliveries of goods for British Merchants, by appealing to the patriotism of the Indian people. Why now the Government fails to do its clear duty to protect Indian, who suffer on account of the mishandling of the situation by itself to serve its own purposes as well as those of the British Government ?

Committee's Conclusions

V. The Committee after careful consideration places the following conclusions before the country:—

1. That every well-meaning civilized Government is bound to protect the interests and trade of its country against outsiders and is morally and legally bound to make good the loss caused to the country by its deliberate misleading calculations and interference.

2. That in case the Government fails to discharge this sacred duty, the merchants in the country would be justified to stand firm and united together, and to show a bold front to all concerned.

3. That no settlements must be made by any merchant individually with manufacturers, shippers or agents in India, England or elsewhere, but all arrangements must be arrived at with the consent of their own associations in each trade centre. In case any member of any association acts against this in any manner all such associations should take the usual " punchayatee" steps to guard against such eventualities.

4. That as Indian traders only demand their legitimate due, it is the duty of all concerned to help each other in every way honestly and not to do anything against the interests of their brethren in any manner.

5. That in case the Government for the sake of helping European merchants appoints special judges, sets up special courts, gives legal or other facilities or provides for any new enactments, the people must in a body protest against all such measures and not render any help in this outrageous policy.

6. That till the present exchange difficulties are not settled satisfactorily it is advisable that no further orders for fresh British or foreign goods or for stocks in India with European firms as do not agree to the conditions of settlement of Indian Associations should be placed at all.

7. That in order to relieve present position immediately the Government is in justice bound to provide sufficient sterling funds out of the Indian Gold Standard Reserve to cover the present outstandings of sterling liabilities on the basis of 10 rupees to the pound, and thereby solve the present deadlock, the dealers being left to make their own calculations hereafter as regards the probable future course of exchange.

8. That the Government of India must also take steps to recoup the reduction of the funds of the Gold Standard Reserve drawn out for the above purpose from the British Treasury out of the profits made at the expense of this country unfairly to which it is entitled to the full amount.

9. That in view of the muddle created by the exchange situation and the total disorganisation of the trade caused thereby, Government must take steps through the Imperial Bank of India or any other Agency or Bank for sufficient funds to finance to carry the present holdings of merchandise of Indian dealers, until the next active season which can only be looked after we have a favourable monsoon and after resumption of the normal export trade of India.

10. That to guard against all such dangerous positions, as the present one, arising again in the country the people and traders both importers and exporters must insist in future to carry out and do all trade of the country in the token coin of rupees and to receive and make payments accordingly in this country till the establishment of real, honest and current gold currency and the free gold mints in India in order to save the country from the fluctuations of exchange, which at present affect, tell and weigh heavily and mostly on Indian Commerce only.

A copy of this report is given to the press for information of all concerned as traders in all markets anxiously are awaiting this and all those who joined expressed strong desire to this effect.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) HANSRAJ PRAGJI THACKERSEY

(Signed) AMIRCHAND KHOSLA

(Signed) NARAINDAS PURSHOTTAMDAS

(Signed) GIRDHARILAL, *Convenor*

Bombay, 22nd March 1921.

Meeting on Tuesday

The following were present at the meeting of the Committee held on Tuesday (March 22) under the presidency of Mr. H. P. Thackersey:—

- (1) Mr. Devchand Bhagwangi, Bleached and Fancy Grey Dhoties Merchants' Association, Bombay.
- (2) Mr. Mohammed Taqi, Sundries Merchants' Association, Delhi.
- (3) Mr. Amir Chand Khosla, Delhi-Hindustani Merchants' Association, Delhi.
- (4) Mr. Jessa Ram, Sundries Merchants' Association, Karachi.
- (5) Mr. Lokumal Satnarain, P. M. Association, Karachi.
- (6) Mr. Chain Rai, P. M. Association, Karachi.
- (7) Mr. Ram Rachpal.
- (8) Mr. Dhanji Vallabhji, Woollen P. and M. Association, Bombay.
- (9) Mr. Girdharilal, Lahore Traders Association, Lahore and Amritsar Piece Goods and Importers' Association, Amritsar.
- (10) Mr. Hansraj Pragji Thackersey, Bombay Millowners' Association.

Formation of All-India Commercial Federation

The following resolutions are passed at the said meeting:—

(1) Resolved that as the necessity of safeguarding Indian trade interests, and the development of the commerce of this country on national lines is very urgent and vital, the time has now arrived to form a Central Association representative of the Commercial Unions and Associations of all the principal trade centres.

(2) Resolved that the name be provisionally fixed as the " All-India Commercial Federation".

(3) Resolved that a Committee of the following gentlemen is formed to frame draft rules for the constitution of the proposed Federation:

(1) Mr. Hansraj Pragji Thackersey, Bombay; (2) Lala Amir Chand Khosla, Delhi; (3) Mr. Mohammed Taqi, Delhi; (4) Mr. Chand Rai, Karachi; (5) Mr. Naraindas Purshottamdas, Bombay; (6) Mr. Jessa Ram, Karachi; (7) Mr. Girdharilal, Amritsar; (8) Mr. Dhanji Vallabhji, Bombay. Lala Girdharilal to work as Secretary.

Mr. Mohammed Taqi is appointed as Joint Secretary.

(4) Resolved that a meeting of the representatives of the All-Indian Associations be called in Bombay as far as possible by July next.

With a vote of thanks to the Chair the meeting closed.

GIRDHARILAL,
Secretary.

This agitation had no practical effect in Bombay.

Anti-liquor and Picketing in Bombay—June 1921

The anti-liquor agitation in Bombay was first suggested by the editor of *Sandesh* in its issue dated 19th May 1921. Mr. A. B. Kolhatkar, the editor, pointed out the success of the anti-drink agitation in Poona and other places and enquired why Bombay was sleeping over the matter. This suggestion was taken up by the 'G' Ward District Congress Committee and on 3rd June 1921 about a dozen volunteers picketed five liquor shops at Dadar. Public meetings were then held and small processions were organized. By the middle of June 1921, picketing began in Girgaum and Golpitha. Leaflets were published advising the people to abstain from the drink-evil and not to collect in the streets so as to interfere with the duties of the pickets. By the end of June the picketing of liquor shops had spread considerably to fresh areas such as Mandvi, Frere Road, Mazagaon, Dhobi Talao, Jacob Circle and Arthur Road. About 245 shops were picketed by about 375 volunteers. On the whole the movement had been peaceful so far though there had been a few instances of rowdyism. A recruiting office was opened at Sandhurst Road where volunteers were enrolled, given Gandhi-caps, and different coloured sashes, instructed in their duties and immediately posted for duty. There was apparently little discrimination used in the selection of volunteers a large number of whom were " Mavalis " though a few of them belonged to the respectable classes. This was manifest from the behaviour of certain volunteers and particularly from the evidence recorded in some of the cases sent up by the Police. In consequence Gandhi's advice was sought and he suggested that in future only volunteers of good character should be enrolled and that the doctrine

Vigilance
Committee of non-violence should be observed. In the meanwhile the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee formed a Vigilance Committee consisting of (1) V. A. Desai, (2) A. H. S. Khatri, (3) K. B. Sanzgiri, (4) L. T.

Patankar, (5) V. V. Jairajani and (6) B. N. Mehisheri to weed out the undesirable from amongst the volunteers and to exercise greater vigilance in future recruiting. On 11th July Gandhi met the liquor shop keepers at the Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall and explained to them the evil effects of the drink-traffic. He said he was in favour of the postponement but the question was one for the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee to decide. Gandhi's diatribes against the liquor trade profession excited great dissatisfaction among the shop-keepers. Gandhi referred to the Dharwar riots and condemned the attitude of Mr. Painter the Collector of Dharwar and justified the attitude of the picketers. The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee met on the evening of the 13th of July 1921 and decided to stop the picketing of liquor-shops until 1st August 1921 as advised by Mr. Gandhi. The picketing was accordingly suspended from the 14th July 1921. The Vigilance Committee was however asked in the meanwhile to organise and elect better pickets and get ready to restart picketing by the 1st of August 1921.

Picketing restarted—20th August 1921

Picketing of liquor shops was resumed in the Dadar and Mahim areas on 20th August 1921. At the outset 27 shops were picketed by 75 volunteers. Shaukat Ali, V. A. Desai, Dr. Savarkar and P. G. Sahasrabudhe toured through the picketed areas in a motor-car. On the 22nd August a meeting of the Council of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee was held under the presidency of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. The question, whether free legal assistance to the picketers offered by a few lawyers of Bombay should be accepted and whether any help should be given to those who were fined, was considered by the Council and it was decided that lawyers assistance should not be taken by the pickets and that those who needed money in connection with the attachment of their property for failing to pay fines should be compensated. The Council also sanctioned the purchase of cycles for the use of supervising volunteers. Towards the end of August 1921, about 47 shops were picketed and it was noticeable that the necessary volunteers were not coming forward on the ground that they were required to go to jail without defending themselves.

The secretary of the Vigilance Committee had to make an appeal to the press asking the " Gentry of the City " to help the volunteers. In the first week of September picketing extended to 92 shops. The picketers began to take little interest and it was generally observed that the movement was languishing. By the middle of September it was observed that the pickets placed on the toddy-trees to prevent tapping were paid agents receiving rupee one daily and *bhatta* as well. They were soon found useless and were consequently discharged. At this time the pickets were supplied with badges instead of sashes. In the first week of October the number of shops picketed in the City increased to 182. Leaflets had to

be issued to encourage the volunteers about whom rumours were spreading in the City that they would be arrested by the Police. Towards the end of October the total number of shops picketed were 267 though the greatest number picketed on any one day was 219. The Vigilance Committee began to accept undesirable characters as pickets and the picketers were also paid as before. In the middle of November the shops picketed reached the total of 282. Picketing had to be suspended in November disturbance. Kamatipura section owing to the large number of the arrest of picketers by the Police. On the 17th November, the day of the arrival of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, disturbances broke out in the City and the picketing stopped automatically after that.

Statement showing

- (1) The number of complaints and prosecutions with results, in connestion with picketing of Prosecutions liquor-shops from the commencement to the end of the picketing movement, of Picketers.
- (2)The number of prosecutions instituted from the beginning to the end of picketing movement in connection with picketing of liquor-shops arising out of the Non-co-operation Movement, and
- (3)The number of liquor-shops and toddy-shops burnt and looted or damaged during the November Disturbances in the City are attached hereto for ready reference.
- Liquor-shops damaged and looted.

STATEMENT NO. 1

Statement showing the number of complaints (Non-cognizable cases) and prosecutions (Cognizable cases) with results, in connection with picketing of liquor-shops in Bombay from the commencement of picketing to the end of the picketing movement.

Non-cognizable			Cognizable		
No. of cases	Charge	Result	No. of cases	No, of charge accused	Result
87	Assault insult intimidation and mischief,	Referred to a magistrate.	29	47 Sec. 122 IV-02.	23 fined 13 warned charged and discharged 11 discharged.
			46	49 Sec. 22 IV-02.	32 fined 15 warned and discharged 2 discharged.
			3	3 Sec. 127 IV-02.	1 fined 2 warned and discharged.
			2	2 Sec. 292. I.P.C.	1 sentenced to 14 days' R.I. 1 acquitted.
			5	5 Sec. 379, I.P.C.	3 fined 1 discharged 1 acquitted.
			1	1 Sec. 447. I.P.C.	1 fined.
			3	6 Sec. 341, I.P.C.	1 fined 5 discharged.

STATEMENT No. 1

Statement showing the number of prosecutions and proceedings instituted since the beginning of the year 1921 to the end of June 1922, in connection with the picketing of liquor-shops arising out of the non-co-operation movement.

Section of law under which prosecution sanctioned or instituted	No. of prosecutions instituted	No. of cases tried i.e. decided	No. of persons convicted	No. of persons sentenced to R. I.	No. of persons sentenced to S.I.	No. of persons sentenced to pay fines	No. of persons warned and discharged	No. of persons discharged	No. of persons acquitted
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
122 of Act IV of 1902.	29	29	36	--	--	23	13	11	--
22 of Act IV of 1902	46	46	47	--	--	32	15	2	--
127 of Act IV of 1902	3	3	3	--	--	1	2	--	--
392, Indian Penal Code.	2	2	1	1	--	--	--	--	1
379, Indian Penal Code.	5	5	3	--	--	3	--	1	1
447, Indian Penal Code.	1	1	1	--	--	1	--	--	--
341, Indian Penal Code.	3	3	1	--	--	--	--	5	--

STATEMENT No. 3

Statement showing the number of liquor-shops (including toddy-shops) burnt and looted or damaged during the month of " November 1921 Disturbances " in Bombay

Police area	No. of liquor-shops burnt	No. of liquor-shops looted or damaged	Remarks
A Division	--	--	
B Division	--	29	
C Division	2	55	
D Division	1	30	
E Division	--	7	
F Division	1	14	
	4	135	

Boycott of Foreign Goods (Cloth)

It may be remembered that on 7th December 1920 the Bombay Native Piece-goods Association resolved to stop trading in foreign piece-goods. The Bombay Native Piece-goods Merchants' Association resolved on the 7th instant to stop trading in foreign piece-goods. A copy of the resolution is attached, marked " A ". The reason for the decision appears to be economic. This resolution, however, was not carried into effect and it existed in name only.

The energies of the non-co-operators were mainly directed towards the fulfilment of the constructive programme of the Congress from December 1920 to the end of June 1921. Soon after Mr. Gandhi announced that he succeeded in collecting nearly a crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, he, therefore, suggested a complete boycott of foreign cloth by the end of July 1921 and before the 1st August 1921, the anniversary day of Tilak's demise. He published the following in the issue of the *Bombay Chronicle* dated the 2nd July, 1921 :—

" God is great. He sends help from unexpected quarters. It was no small thing for me to announce that India had not given the full crore on the due date. I struggle with friends for getting the deficit underwritten. They were ready to give it to me but they would not disclose their names. I capitulated but I was sore at heart that God had not answered my prayer. And yet I knew Him to be an unfailing God. He sent Bengal to the rescue and ratified the nation's undertaking at Bezwada. Each province should at least make up its numerical proportion of the crore. But our next inevitable step is to bring about the complete boycott of foreign cloth. On the 1st of August we celebrate the anniversary of Lokmanya's death. We can, if we make a definite special effort bring about an almost complete boycott of foreign cloth before that date. I cannot conceive any better celebration of the anniversary of the Lokmanya's death than complete boycott of foreign cloth."

Mr. Gandhi then issued instructions as to how to boycott foreign goods. He said:—

" It is needless to say at this time of the day that the proposed boycott of foreign cloth is not a vindictive process but it is as necessary for national existence as breath is to life. To arrive at the boycott quickly it is necessary for (1) The Millowners to regularise their profits and to manufacture, principally for the Indian market; (2) For importers to cease to buy foreign goods; (3) For the consumers to wear only khadi cloth, mill-cloth being retained for the poor who do not know the distinction between *Swadeshi* and *Pardeshi*; (4) For the consumers to use, till *Swaraj* is established and khadi manufacture increased, khadi just enough for covering the body; and (5) For the consumers to destroy *Pardeshi* cloth as they would destroy intoxicating liquors on taking the vow of abstinence or to sell for use abroad or to wear it out for all dirty work or during private hours. The success depends upon the persistent determination of the consumers. *He has simply to decline to wear the badge of his slavery.*"

Mr. Gandhi then decided to remain in Bombay to control the Boycott Campaign. He sent for the important piece-goods merchants to his house and endeavoured to persuade them to sign a declaration that they would not import foreign goods henceforth and that whatever stock they might have on hand would be disposed of outside India. His open letter to the press in which he addressed the cloth merchants to do their duty appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle* of 7th July 1921.

THE CLOTH MERCHANTS

Gentlemen,

Yesterday I invited the millowners to help the foreign cloth boycott movement. They may or may not help. I shall hope that they will. But you cannot possibly keep yourself from it. Because the majority of you are even convinced non-co-operators. You have made possible the fulfilment of the Bezwada promise regarding the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund. But you will say that

whilst payment was a small matter to you, your trade is matter of life and death. It is just this hallucination that is keeping *swaraj* away from us. If your trade is a matter of life and death to you, is the country's good less? *Swaraj* means that you and I put our country's trade before ours. The appeal to you to refrain from importing foreign cloth is in other words an appeal to subordinate your individual gain to the country's.

For every yard you import from England or Japan or America, you take away from the mouth of a fellow countryman at least three annas without giving him anything in return. Let me explain. India has enough labour lying idle in her villages. Formerly this was utilised for manufacturing yarn and cloth. Foreign imports made them compulsorily idle. And for these long long years the vast majority have found no other occupation. Hence every drought sends a shiver through every pitying heart in India. It need not be so. A drought is not an unusual Indian phenomenon. We feel its deadly effects, because we are living on the margin of starvation. By prolonged idleness, we have lost the power of sustenance. Do not imagine that these cottagers can all flock to our dozen cities where labour is scarce and find a living. They are burdened with land which they dare not leave even if they would. And not all the cities of India can hold her millions. Nothing but the restoration of hand-spinning and hand-weaving can possibly bring back lustre to the Indian eye. And I would be false to you and to India, if I do not tell you that the merchants more than the millowners are responsible for India's deep and distressing poverty. The millowners aggravate it no doubt, when they charge heavy prices. But you are so responsible that if you stop the importation of foreign cloth, you can revive the ancient and honourable *dharma* (duty) of hand-spinning and give an impetus to the industry of hand-weaving.

Why after all, should the abandonment of a trade that harms India be a matter of life and death to many of you ? Surely you are resourceful enough to find some other trade beneficial alike to you and the country. The stopping of imports means a saving of sixty crores per year. But it means operation on a much larger capital. It means that all the processes on cotton will be gone through in India. That means business for you. It means a healthy circulation of money as to-day it is a progressively exhausting drain of money from our dear country. I ask you to disengage your great talents from an unhealthy channel and direct them into the healthy channels that open out to you. You must organise hand-spinning and hand-weaving. Then, you will not be satisfied with coarse *khadi* as I am. You will insist on your spinners spinning the finest counts and weavers weaving the world-famed Dacca muslin. You will sink fortunes in it whereas I have only paid our sisters the few thousands you have given me as a charity. For you to leave the unholy trade in foreign cloth is to organise the production and distribution of home-spun. It is an enterprise worthy of your patriotism. You whisper to me that such organisation may take a few years. You have not built up your present trade in a moment. If you are satisfied, that it is a trade that has impoverished and enslaved India, you will not stop to think of the consequences of its destruction. You will let it go at any cost.

And what is the cost ? Not much. You have to stop all further orders for foreign cloth or yarn. That costs nothing. You have a stock of foreign cloth to get rid of. The world's market is open to you for its disposal. There are many uses to which the Indian specialities can be put in say Mauritius, South Africa or East Africa. You will but let me think out for you the best method of disposing of the stock of foreign cloth and yarn you have.

Some of you have developed an anxiety for the requirements of the consumer. He will accommodate himself to the shortage, feel none the worse for it and will be better able to appreciate next year the plenty of beautiful *khadi* of every variety of width and thinness.

I ask you not to put an undue strain upon the consumer. It is not right for you to put temptations in his or her way in the shape of flimsy Japanese dhotis or saris or starchy calico. I urge you rather to cultivate in the consumer the taste to see are in *khadi*. Evenness, even softness, is not necessarily an art. The most exquisitely made rose flower from silks has no art in it. For it has no life. But the real flower from the garden with most petals gone is any day infinitely superior to the finished artificial product in a dressed window. The former is instinct with life. Would that the merchants of India ceasing to be mercenary will study the ancient art and make it their *business* to revive it. There is money in it for you and the country. The greatest art to be revived is *swaraj*. There is no *swaraj* without *swadeshi*. And *swadeshi* means for India a permanent boycott of foreign cloth. I invite you to lead the way. For you have the ability. May God grant you the strength and wisdom to lead.

About half-a-dozen merchants responded to his call, he then called a meeting of the piece goods merchants of the Mulji Jetha Market to advise them to boycott the foreign piece goods. He also suggested that his friends and followers should burn their foreign clothes on the 1st August 1921 at Chaupati where Tilak was cremated. On the 8th July 1921, at the meeting of the cloth merchants at the Mulji Jetha Market, he advised them to boycott foreign cloth and to popularise *khaddar*. In spite of his strong appeal to them the merchants were not eager to give promises and only one merchant gave a written undertaking to boycott foreign cloth. He then addressed similar meetings of several commission agents in Bombay but only about 8 persons agreed to sign the declaration of not importing and not dealing in foreign cloth. He then addressed the members of the drug merchants association advising them as consumers, to boycott the foreign cloth. The people in general and the cloth merchants in particular were however opposed to this boycott movement. On July 12th the Council of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee advised that all the members of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee should immediately move to see that foreign cloth was completely boycotted by the 1st August 1921 and that Naraindas Purushottamdas, a cloth merchant, should be advanced rupees one lakh to stock *khaddar* and other Indian goods and to open different branches in the City. In the meantime Jamnalal Bajaj, a rich merchant of Bombay, tried his best to induce Marwadi cloth merchants and commission agents to sign a vow not to deal in foreign cloth. He, however, failed to get any written promises from those merchants. Several public meetings were held in Bombay in the middle of July in support of this movement and appeals to the public were made in the press by the District Congress Committee to make a bonfire of foreign clothes on the 1st August 1921.

'A'

The Bombay Chronicle, dated 12th July 1921

Disposal of foreign clothes

The Joint Secretaries, Swaraj Sabha Volunteer Corps, writes:

Those who want to destroy foreign clothes or get rid of them, should send them at any of the following addresses:—

A Ward—Fort District—V. A. Desai, care of All-India United Insurance Company, and K. Liladhar Esq., 72, Apollo Street, Fort.

B Ward—Mandvi District—B. N. Mehesheri, Esq., care of Union Society, Bombay (3).

C Ward—Girgaon District—C.O. No. 79 A Sandhurst Road, Opposite Sanghvi Stores—K. B. Sanzgiri, Esq., 3rd Parsiwada, opposite Wilsen High School; I. L. Kaji, Esq., Girgaum, Gai Wadi, Panjrapole Chawl; and Jugmohandas Gulabdas, Merchants Kallianji House, opposite Girgaum Old Post Office.

E Ward—Byculla District—C. O. Co. Messrs. Foster and Sons, Parel Road, Byculla.

Those who find it inconvenient to send the foreign clothes should write to Mr. Amritlal H. Dalai or Mr. K. B. Sanzgiri and arrangements will be made by the volunteers for disposal of the same.

Persons desiring to act as volunteers for this purpose are requested to enlist their names at the office of Swarajya Sabha Volunteers Corps at 79 Sandhurst Road, Girgaum, or Messrs. Lannu and Co., Abdul Rahman Street, near Imperial Bank of India.

'B'

The Bombay Chronicle, dated the 18th July 1921

Girgaum Congress Committee

Mr. Laxmidas Mangaldas Shrikant is authorised by the Managing Council of the above referred Committee to start a Vishoodha Khadi (hand-spun and hand-woven) Stores, in his own building, 79A, Sandhurst Road on his own responsibility and he is certified by the Managing Council of our Committee as our *bonafide* Vishoodha Khadi dealer.

Further our Committee requires willing voluntary workers making house-to-house visit for foreign clothes. Volunteers desirous of doing this work are requested to enlist their names in Girgaum District Congress Committee's office, Jariwalla Mansion, between 7 to 10 a.m. and 5 to 8 p.m. (S. T.) everyday excepting Friday. We require the assistance of lady volunteers as well in this work. Such volunteers will be given the certificates bearing the signature of any one of the three Honorary Secretaries. Foreign clothes will be accepted directly in our Committee's office, Jariwalla Mansion, Sandhurst Road, and receipts will be passed to the owners of foreign clothes according to their wishes.

We also bring to the notice of the public in general and the residents of ' D ' Ward in particular that *charkas*, cotton silvers and other *charka* accessories can be had daily from the *charka* class conducted by our Committee at 79A, Sandhurst Road, Bombay.

About 2,000 copies of the vernacular poster containing Gandhi's message to boycott foreign cloth were published by Shankerlal Ghelabhai Banker of the Swaraj Sabha, Bombay, at the Dnyansagar Litho Press and were posted up at conspicuous places in the city on the 14th instant. The translation of the poster runs as under :—

" Mahatma Gandhi's message ".

Boycott of Foreign cloth for the attainment of *swaraj*.

Duty of the people.

Do not buy foreign cloth.

Burn the foreign cloth that is with you.

Otherwise send it for sale to foreign countries.

Purchase *khaddar* and use only a sufficient quantity.

Leave the mill-made cloth for the use of the poor.

Success will depend on the people.

The people should decline to wear the badge of slavery.

(4) *Bijapur, July 15th.*—A movement is on foot to induce merchants to boycott foreign sugar.

Leaflets were distributed in the City advising people to discard foreign cloth and to wear *khaddar*. Mr. Gandhi addressed a meeting of 500 volunteers on July 21st and requested them to make house-to-house visits in order to collect foreign clothes which the owners wished to give up. Gandhi said "It was volunteers' duty to put their hearts into their work both in temperance and cloth-boycott movements; he himself would be ready to take part in picketing in September and to go to jail if necessary." Most of the clothes collected by the volunteers from the people were old clothes. Umer Sobhani was reported to have given Rs. 30,000 worth of clothes. The last week of July was devoted to the holding of several meetings in connection with the boycott of foreign cloth. Two of these meetings were held at Chaupati on the 27th and 29th July 1921 when most of the leaders, who had been in Bombay to attend the All-India Congress Committee meeting, addressed the people, numbering about three to four thousand on the boycott of foreign cloth.

First Bonfire of Foreign Cloth, 31st July 1921

The ceremony of burning the foreign cloth took place on July 31st in the compound of the Elphinstone Mill belonging to Umer Sobhani. The clothing was arranged circularly round a pile about 20 feet high from which were draped saris of different colours. The pile was not a very imposing one and consisted mainly of old clothes. A good number of the members of the All-India Congress Committee attended. There were no speeches. Gandhi merely said a few words on the lines of his message which he had distributed by means of leaflets beforehand; he then set fire to the pile and took his departure. There were roughly about ten to twelve thousand people present. Volunteers guarded the entrance to the Mill compounds and everybody who entered had his headgear removed if it was not of *khaddar*. A Parsi who had got in without having his "Fenta" removed was subsequently asked to give it up but he refused on the ground that it was his national dress whereupon he was hustled out of the compound. The crowd quietly dispersed after the bonfire. No disturbance of any kind occurred. The Gandhi-cap was very noticeable on this occasion.

The All-India Congress Committee which met in Bombay at this time on 28th and 29th and 30th July 1921, decided that all Congress organizations should concentrate their attention upon attaining complete boycott of foreign cloth by the 30th of September 1921 and on manufacture of *khaddar* by stimulating hand-spinning and hand-weaving.

In accordance with the decisions of the All-India Congress Committee to attain the complete boycott of foreign cloth by the 30th of September 1921, the non-co-operators, the volunteers, national school and college boys and others, who sympathised with the movement, devoted their energies to the collection of foreign clothes. Swadeshi Stores were opened at some places to promote *swadeshi* and several meetings were held to carry the *swadeshi* movement. Several centres in the different wards of the city were opened for the deposit of foreign clothes discarded by the people and collected by the volunteers.

Second Bonfire of Foreign Cloth, 9th October 1921'

The second bonfire of foreign clothes took place on the evening of 9th October in the compound of the Elphinstone Mill belonging to Umer Sobhani. There were about not more than ten thousand people present. Mr. Gandhi appeared in a loin-cloth only. The bonfire itself was not like the last one.

At the bonfire near the Elphinstone Mills on Sunday night the crowd was as large as on the last occasion. It could be counted only in lakhs. The enthusiasm of the people was also very great. From early afternoon people were moving towards the Elphinstone Road, clothed in *khaddar*, and later in the evening it was impossible to pass along the Elphinstone Bridge and its precincts. But the meeting, inspite of such a large crowd, was the most orderly, perhaps the most orderly of all the meetings of this kind in Bombay.

The whole crowd was very quiet all the time and for this a great deal of credit is due to the large number of volunteers. In the middle of the area a large platform was erected for the leaders and near it the foreign clothes which had been collected during the past few days were arranged in the shape of a pyramid. All sorts of clothes of foreign make were there, costly silk saris, full of brocades, costly coats, shirts, hats and in fact everything that was considered necessary up to this time, was there thrown in a heap, all well arranged soaked in kerosene and mixed with crackers.

Mrs. Naidu presided at the meeting and Mahatma Gandhi moved the principal and the only resolution before the meeting supported by the various leaders like Lala Lajpatrai, Maulana Azad, Sobhani, Babu Rajendra Lal etc. Mahatma Gandhi whose speech was full of pathos moved his hearers very much and he spoke with a great deal of feeling and sorrow. Some tears were to be seen in his eyes, so moved he was by sorrow at the failure on the part of the people in doing their duty towards their country. After the resolution, which was similar to that of the Karachi resolution, was passed all standing, the Mahatma lighted the heap of foreign clothing and it burned on merrily amidst the loud noise of crackers and bursting flames. The sight was extremely impressive ; the vast audiences, the burning clothes and the passionate speakers, under God's sky in the growing night.

THE RESOLUTION

Mahatma Gandhi moved.—This meeting of the citizens of Bombay re-affirms the following Resolution of the Working Committee held in Bombay on the 5th instant:—

"The Working Committee congratulates the Ali Brothers and their comrades upon their prosecution and having considered the Resolution of the Khilafat Conference held at Karachi, regarding Military Service under the Government, the Working Committee is of opinion that the Resolution virtually re-affirms the principle laid down by the Congress at its special session in Calcutta, and its ordinary session in Nagpur last year, that it is contrary to national dignity and national interest for any Indian to engage or remain in the service of a Government in any capacity whatsoever ; a Government that has used the soldiers for the purposes of crushing the National spirit of the Egyptians, the Turks, the Arabs and other nations. The Working Committee has been only deterred from calling out the soldiers as the Civilians in the name of the Congress, because the Congress is not yet ready to support these Government servants, who may leave Government service and who may not be able themselves to find means of livelihood. The Working Committee, however, is of opinion that in pursuance of the

spirit of the Congress Resolution on non-co-operation it is the clear duty of every Government employee, whether soldier or civilian, who can support himself without Congress assistance to leave such service.

The Working Committee draws the attention of all Indian soldiers and police to the fact that carding and hand-spinning and hand-weaving afford them, by undergoing training for a brief period, an honourable means for independent livelihood. The Working Committee is further of opinion that the reasons given for the prosecution with reference to the said Karachi Resolution constitute an undue interference with religious liberty"

Mahatma's Speech

In proposing the resolution Mahatma Gandhi said, it divided itself into two parts. The first part dealt with the Karachi resolution and was intended to be its confirmation from the national standpoint. And if it was a crime in the Ali Brothers and their fellow-prisoners to have supported the resolution, it was a crime for the speaker and the audience to propose and pass the resolution. He considered it their duty to state their position clearly. It was their duty to inform the Sepoy that it was wrong to help a Government which had forfeited the confidence of the country. The speaker was informed that the resolution was said to be worded cleverly after the fashion of a lawyer so as to avoid the clutches of the law. It was said that like the Khilafat resolution, the present one did not require everyone to tell the Sepoy to lay down arms. He differed from that view. He was of opinion that by the resolution everyone endorsing it told the Sepoy that it was his duty to give up service, if only he could support himself otherwise. If his voice could reach the Sepoy he certainly told him that if he believed in his faith whether he was a Hindu or a Musalman or believed in his own country, he should leave the service even if he had to earn his livelihood by breaking stones. One who wanted to be a soldier of India could not be a Sepoy of a Government which had served against India. Those who murdered the innocent men of Jallianwala were no soldiers; they were mere animals. Those who ran no risk but only killed were again no soldiers, but animals. He had, therefore, no hesitation in telling the Sepoy through the audience that he should lose no time in severing his connection with the Government if he cared for his country and religion.

One thing the resolution did not require the people to do namely to carry on secret propaganda. They had ruled out secrecy from their book of non-co-operation. They were ashamed to say in secret what they were not prepared to say in public. If therefore the Government held it a crime to recite the creed of non-co-operation, he invited them to arrest those who took part in the evening's proceedings. If it was a crime to tell the soldier that it was unlawful for him to serve the Government in terms of his religion and nationalism, he (the speaker) invited the Government to arrest him and those who supported-. and carried the resolution.

The other part of the resolution pointed out to the soldier the way to an honourable livelihood. It referred to Swadeshi. He asked the audience not to carry that resolution if they did not believe in Swadeshi and the power of the spinning-wheel to banish poverty from the land. The resolution told the soldier that he could earn his living by carding and weaving. He verily believed that Maulana Mahomed Ali that they did not need lead and gun powder. Yarn balls were their lead and the spinning-wheel was their gun. He said last September that it was possible to gain *swaraj*, to redress the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs during the twelve months following if they fulfilled certain conditions. Twelve months had passed but there was no *swaraj*. The fault was theirs. They had done much but had not fulfilled the minimum required. He wished to share the blame.

He was sorry that he had not the power of convincing every lawyer that it was wrong to practise before the courts which gave no justice. He was sorry that his *tapasya* was not enough to carry conviction to every student that it was wrong to be going to Government schools. He knew that he had not been able to convince every man and woman of Bombay that it was sinful to wear anything but *khaddar*. But they need not mind him. If the country still carried out the Swadeshi programme during the month *swaraj* was a certainty during the year and so was redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs. He adhered to his faith in the spinning-wheel. He had no doubt that if he and it alone could solve the problem of India's poverty. Its acceptance to him was a test of the reality of Hindu-Muslim unity and from violence. He would not be party to general civil disobedience if they could not fulfil the Swadeshi programme. He would not be satisfied unless *khaddar* had become universal and foreign cloth a rarity. He wanted to see the men and women of Bombay to be dressed in *khaddar* only. He was told that the sale of *khaddar* was to the extent of Rs. 18,000 in July, Rs. 13,000 in August and Rs. 7,000 in September in Khadi Bhandar. He wanted to see lacs worth of *khadi* sold. He wanted to see the spinning-wheel at work in every house in Bombay. Bombay had led in the matter of Tilak Swaraj Fund. Let Bombay lead in Swadeshi and gain the privilege of offering general civil disobedience. He had erred in the April of 1919 in hastily embarking on civil disobedience. He was a very imperfect human being liable to err. God alone was free from error. But he was knowing enough not to err twice about the same thing. He could not advise civil disobedience without Swadeshi. He knew the science of civil disobedience. He knew its power and its risks. A completely non-violent atmosphere was a necessity, and it could not be ensured unless the nation had recognised the power of the spinning-wheel and settled down to it. If they believed in Swadeshi and its results, he expected to see a spinning-wheel at work in every home. He expected all castes and creeds to take up the spinning-wheel and *khaddar*. He expected princely men to take to *charkha* and the mill-hands to take up the spinning-wheel. And when they had done that they could safely go to individual soldier and openly ask him to give up his service.

He had found many shedding tears to see him reducing himself to a mere lion-cloth. He could not do otherwise after having witnessed what he had. He wanted no pity for himself but he did not want India, if he was to revert to his normal dress, to adopt full Swadeshi. He had visited the ceded districts. It was going through a famine — women were reported to have drowned themselves and their children for want of food. It was not possible for him to wear more clothing than he did after knowing such deep distress.

He would presently put the torch to the pyramid of clothing in front of them. To him it was a symbol of the fire raging in their breasts. This burning was a mere show unless it was a replica of internal fire.

They revered the memory of the Lokamanya. They need not go to his commentary on the Gita to learn Tilak Gita. The speaker could tell them what it was in one word. The first half was supplied by the Lokamanya himself, viz., *swaraj* is our birth-right. He would supply the second half. The spinning-wheel is the means to attain it. He was sure that if the deceased had been alive, he would be on the same platform with them. Was he not a lover of Swadeshi? Had he not practised it as it was then practised for years? He, the speaker, knew that the deceased believed in non-cooperation. He certainly donated the country's ability to follow it up. Let them remove the doubt and by complete rehabilitation of Swadeshi establish *swaraj* during the year. He invited the Musalmans who felt so deeply for the Khilafat and the Hindus who felt equally for the vow to take up the spinning-wheel and ensure the success of Swadeshi.

Mr. K. P. Khadilkar, seconding the resolution, said the resolution had already been passed by the Congress at Calcutta. On account of the doings of the Indian soldiers at the Jallianwala Bagh during the Rowlatt Act agitation, the Congress had told the Indian soldiers that they should give up their posts. The Karachi resolution affirmed that. They had not asked the soldiers to give up their places all at once, for the Congress Committees would not be able to feed them. It only asked those soldiers who could earn their livelihood by hand-spinning and weaving to do so at once and give up their employment under the Government. The road to *swaraj* had only been pointed out to them by the Ali Brothers by going to jail and let them follow it irresistibly. The clothes which they were burning that night represented their sins towards their countrymen for so many years.

Babu Rajendra Prasad

Babu Rajendra Prasad, supporting the resolution, said the road to '*Swaraj*' was by the way of *charkha*. As long as they supported the Government, co-operated with it, they were responsible and a party to its sins. The attitude of some of their countrymen showed that they had not, properly understood their duty towards their country.

Moulana Azad Sobhani

Moulana Azad Sobhani said they must be thankful to the Congress Committee for passing the very resolution for which the Ali Brothers and others of their leaders had been arrested and kept in jail.

Lala Lajpatrai

Lala Lajpatrai said he could understand one nation being made slave by another and he could also understand the slave nation trying to strike off its fetters by every means in its power. But what he could not understand was that men with eyes open and their senses wide-awake should willingly remain the slaves of a foreign nation for ever. For such men no amount of contempt, no humiliations and no repression was enough. They deserved all those degradations and more. Wherever the Indians went the finger of scorn was pointed out towards them showing that they were a fallen nation, a nation of slaves. It was said of Indians that they were willing to be a subject-nation. Government by their jugglery had transformed their agitators into "statesmen" (Laughter). It was not a matter for laughter, it was matter for burning shame. The foreign Government had made their own countrymen go against them and had so made them into "statesmen". It was six or seven months ago in this very city he had made a speech and the "wise" men had abused him. The word was to be in quotation marks. They had called him names and said hard words against him. He admitted he had used very hard words and the last few months had proved to the hilt that every single word of what he had said was true and nothing but true. Their countrymen who, presidents and secretaries of Temperance Associations all over the country, when they found that the non-co-operators were doing real work in the direction of weaning the drunkards from the voice spoke against it and at once gave it up, because they did not think it was loyal enough to follow in the wake of the Extremists.

The next act of statesmanship was Swadeshi. When Bengal was crying for Swadeshi and the whole country wanted it their friends had thrown the movement over-board for fear of creating feeling of hatred in the minds of their countrymen against foreigners. So they must give it up.

The third act of statesmanship was that for so many years they were asking for the separation of the judicial and executive functions and now they had compromised over it also.

The fourth instance of statesmanship was this. They had been saying that repression was no remedy and that it would never bring peace in the country. They quoted as an instance the state of Bengal, where in spite of the greatest repression bomb-throwing and dacoities continued and only stopped after Mahatma Gandhi's principles had spread there. But those of his friends were not advocating repressive measures for the suppression of non-co-operation. What could he say of such men ? These men should hide their diminished heads for mere shame. The non-co-operators might be dreamers and " impatient idealists", but their country needed them, as in fact every country needed such men. But the statesmen, who had so much confidence in themselves, what had they done ? They did not want even *Swadeshi*.

He thanked God that there was such a man as Mahatma Gandhi who had taught them to speak the truth, whatever might happen. He had taught them to be fearless to do what was right, and to speak what was right. He had taught them to fear nothing. For so many years Indians were accustomed to hide their thoughts for fear of Government, but now the day had come when their countrymen were not afraid of speaking the truth. They were not afraid to say that was a sin for their soldiers to serve a Government which was keeping their country down. He would now say that they had half won the *Swarajya*. He did not want to flatter any one, but he was thankful to the Almighty that India had a man like Gandhi who was leading them in the right path, teaching them the right thing and also teaching them to speak the truth dressed in a mere *langoti*. He appealed to his sisters to leave aside the cowardly men who were retarding the progress of their country and follow the right path which leads to both the Jail and *swaraj*.

Appealing to the merchants he said that any trade which harmed their country as a whole was not an honest one and must be given up, however much they might suffer. The salvation of their country did not depend on the rich merchants alone, but on the crores of the poor people in this country. He appealed to them to do nothing that was harmful to the good of their countrymen.

The resolution was put to vote and passed unanimously, all standing in support of it at the request of Mrs. Naidu.

Mr. Gandhi then got down from the platform, set a lighted torch to the pyramid of clothes which had been tastefully decorated and amid loud noise of crackers and burst of flames in all directions from the heap the meeting dispersed.

Mr. Gandhi made a lengthy speech in support of the resolution congratulating the Ali Brothers and the other Karachi prisoners and reaffirming the resolution of the Working Committee held in Bombay on the 4th October which repeated the Karachi resolution. A few extracts of Gandhi's speech are reproduced below :—

Mr. Gandhi said:

" The resolution divided itself into two parts. The first part dealt with the Karachi resolution and was intended to be its confirmation from the national standpoint. And if it was a crime in the Ali Brothers and their fellow-prisoners to have supported the resolution, it was a crime for the speaker and the audience to propose and pass the resolution. He was of opinion that by the resolution everyone endorsing it told the sepoy that it was his duty

to give up service if only he could support himself otherwise. One who wanted to be a soldier of India could not be a sepoy of a Government which had served against India. Those who murdered the innocent men of Jallian-walla were no soldiers but they were mere animals. One thing the resolution did not require the people to do, namely, to carry on secret propaganda. They had ruled out secrecy from their book of non-co-operation. They were ashamed to say in secret what they were not prepared to say in public. The other part of the resolution pointed out to the soldiers the way to an honourable livelihood. It referred to *Swadeshi*. He asked the audience not to carry that resolution if they did not believe in *swadeshi* and the power of the spinning-wheel to banish poverty from the land. The resolution told the soldier that he could earn his living by carding and weaving. He verily believed Moulana Mahomed Ali when he said that they did not need lead and gun-powder. Yarn balls were their lead and the spinning-wheel was their gun. He said last September that it was possible to gain *Swaraj*, to redress the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs during the twelve months following if they fulfilled certain conditions. Twelve months had passed but there was no *swaraj*. The fault was theirs. They had done much but had not fulfilled the minimum required. He wished to share the blame. He knew that he had not been able to convince every man and woman of Bombay that it was sinful to wear anything but Khaddar. But they need not mind him. If the country still carried out the *Swadeshi* programme during the month, *Swaraj* was certain during the year and so was the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs. He adhered to his faith in the spinning-wheel. He wanted to see the men and women in Bombay dressed in Khaddar only. He was told that the sale of Khaddar was to the extent of 18 thousand in July, rupees 13 thousand in August and rupees 7 thousand in September in Khadi Bhandar. He wanted to see lakhs worth of Khadi sold. He wanted to see the spinning-wheel at work in every house at Bombay. Bombay had led in the matter of Tilak Swaraj Fund. Let Bombay lead in *swadeshi* and gain the privilege of offering general Civil Disobedience. He had erred in the April of 1919 in hastily embarking on Civil Disobedience. He was a imperfect humanbeing liable to err. God alone was free from error but he was knowing enough not to err twice about the same thing. He could advise Civil Disobedience without *swadeshi*. He expected princely men to take to charkha and the mill-hands to take up the spinning-wheel. And when they had done that they could safely go to individual soldier and openly ask him to give up his service."

" He had found many shedding tears to see him reducing himself to a mere loin-cloth. He wanted no pity for himself but he did want India, if he was to revert to his normal dress, to adopt full *Swadeshi*. He would presently" put the torch to the pyramid of clothing in front of them. To him it was a symbol of fire raging in their breasts. This burning was a mere show unless it was a replica of internal fire. Let them remove the doubt and by complete rehabilitation of *Swadeshi* establish *Swaraj* during the year."

During the month of October many public meetings were held advising the people to take to *Swadeshi*. At a meeting of the 26th October held at Mandvi under the presidency of Mr. Chotani it was suggested that on the day of the arrival of His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales the citizens of Bombay should make a bonfire of foreign cloth so big that the flames might be easily seen from Apollo Bunder and that the Prince would be impressed thereby that the Indians had completely boycotted foreign cloth. Upto the 17th November 1921, the day on which His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales arrived in Bombay, the Non-co-operators' activities were confined to the

agitation over the boycott of foreign cloth, the boycott of the Prince's visit and the picketing of liquor shops. Meetings were held and leaflets were distributed in the city in connection with these three activities.

Third Bonfire of Foreign Cloth, 17th November 1921

On the morning of the 17th November a public meeting regarding the third bonfire of foreign clothes was held in the compound of the Elphinstone Mill, Parel, under the presidency of Mr. Gandhi. More than 25 thousand people attended, speeches were made by Mr. Gandhi, Moulana Abdul Kadir, Azad, Sobhani and Pandit Nekiram Sharma. The object of this meeting was also to boycott the Prince's visit. In spite of appeals by the non-co-operators to observe *hartal* on this day there was no general *hartal* and notwithstanding the fact that volunteers had gone round the previous evening advising shopkeepers to observe *hartal*, many shops were kept open, some victorias started plying for hire and the trams were running as usual. After the Prince's procession had passed a local train was observed containing large crowds of Gandhi-cap wallas coming from the north of the city. This train presumably carried back crowds who had been at the Elphinstone Mill Meeting. These alighted at Charni Road and Marine Lines and signalled their arrival by insulting those who were returning home after the Prince's State Procession. Disorder became general in the City at about 12-30 which synchronised with the arrival of the crowds from the Elphinstone Mill Meeting.

The above disturbances resulted in the observance of fast by Mr. Gandhi until peace was restored in Bombay. A Working Committee of the Congress was called at his residence in Bombay on the 22nd and 23rd November 1921, when resolutions deploring the tragic occurrences in Bombay and inviting Congress workers to use the occurrences as an indication of the weak spot in the national organisation and urging upon all Congress and Khilafat organisations the necessity of obtaining control over all turbulent elements in society. The Working Committee also warned all Provincial Congress Committees against embarking upon Mass Civil Disobedience without first making certain of a peaceful atmosphere.

The Bombay disturbances gave a set-back to the above mentioned three activities of the non-co-operators and no material progress towards the advancement of the boycott programme was made until at the close of the year.

All India Congress Committee, Bombay—July 1921

Resolutions passed by the All-India Congress Committee which met at Bombay on the 28th, 29th and 30th July 1921 are as follows:—

I. In the event of the British Government persisting in bringing to India His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in spite of the growing unrest and discontent, by reason of the failure of Government to respond to the popular will, the All-India Committee is of opinion that it is the duty of everyone in terms and in virtue of the Non-co-operation resolution passed at the special session of the Congress in September 1920 at Calcutta and reaffirmed at the ordinary session in December 1920 at Nagpur to refrain from participating in or assisting in any welcome to His Royal Highness or any functions organized officially of otherwise in connection with his visit.

While the All-India Congress Committee considers it its painful duty to tender the above advice to the people, it desires to place on record its opinion that India bears no sort of feeling against the person of His Royal Highness and that this advice is tendered because the Committee regards the proposed visit as a political move, and calculated to give strength and support to a system

of Government that has resulted in a breach of faith with the Mussalmans of India and atrocious injustice to the people of India as during the Martial Law days in 1919 in the Punjab, and a system that is designed to keep India as long as possible from her birthright of *Swaraj*.

II.(a) The All-India Congress Committee desires to tender its congratula-tions to the nation upon the fulfilment of the resolutions arrived at Bezwada to collect one crore of rupees for the All-India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund, and in this connection specially tenders its warm congratulations to the generous citizens of Bombay without whose response the resolution seemed to be impossible of fulfilment

(b) In order to be able to attain *Swaraj* and to secure the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab Wrong's during the current year the All-India Congress Committee desires that all Congress organisations and those who sympathise with the national aspirations, should concentrate their attention upon complete boycott of foreign cloth by the 30th of September next and on manufacture of khaddar by stimulating hand-spinning and hand-weaving, and to this end the All-India Congress Committee advises all persons belonging to the Congress shall discard the use of foreign cloth as from the 1st day of August next and advises all Congress organisations:—

- (1) To use all national educational institutions as far as possible for hand-spinning and hand-weaving.
- (2) To introduce spinning-wheels into the homes which do not yet possess them.
- (3) In every district to take the census of weavers and to induce them by offering facilities to discard the use of foreign yarn and to use, as far as possible hand-spun yarn, and otherwise to use Indian mill-spun yarn.
- (4) To induce by special encouragement weavers who have given up their calling to return to it.
- (5) To take a census of cotton carders and to induce them to prepare cards for spinning.
- (6) To open depots for the supply of khaddar, spinning wheels, hand-looms and all accessories required for spinning and weaving.
- (7) To collect foreign cloth from consumers for destruction or use outside India, at their option.

(c) The All-India Congress Committee invites the mill agents and shareholders of the great spinning and weaving companies in Bombay, Ahmedabad and elsewhere to support the national effort by regulating the price of their manufactures, so as to bear proportion to the wages of millhands and other expenditure, and so as to be within the reach of the poorest, and trusts that in no case will they raise the price beyond prevailing rates.

(d) The All-India Congress Committee invites the importers of foreign cloth and yarn to co-operate with the nation by immediately stopping all foreign orders, and by endeavouring to dispose of their stock as far as possible outside India.

III.The All-India Congress Committee notes with deep satisfaction the growth of public opinion, and the campaign against the use and sale of intoxicating liquors or drugs, by means of peacefully picketing shops licensed for the purpose of selling such liquors or drugs and notes with concern the undue and improper interference commenced by Government in various parts of the country with the recognised right of the Public

Anti-Liquor
Campaign and
Government
Repression.

to wean weak members from temptations to visit such shops, and desires it to be understood that, in the event of such interference with the peaceful exercise of the said right being persisted in, the Committee will be prepared to recommend the continuance of picketing in disregard of such interference, and advise the Working Committee to investigate cases of interference and authorise disregard thereof whenever and wherever it may be considered desirable and in the interests of the movement.

The All India Congress Committee congratulates the Thana District Board on its resolution on picketing and the determination to continue it and calls upon other local Boards and Municipalities in India immediately to follow the splendid lead of that Board.

The lead of the Thana District Board.

The All-India Congress Committee appeals to the keepers of shops for the sale of acute and liquor dealers. Appeals to drug intoxicating liquors and drugs to recognise the growing opinion against the continuance of such trade and to respond to the wish of the nation immediately by discontinuing it.

IV. The All-India Congress Committee deplors the excess committed by crowds at Malegaon and Aligarh excesses. Malegaon, and recently by some people in parts of the City of Aligarh even though under grave provocation, and advises Congress organisations to inculcate among the people the importance of observing the spirit of complete non-violence as an indispensable part of non-co-operation, and whilst condemning these isolated instances of popular violence, the Committee desire to congratulate the people of India upon their having exercised complete self-restraint, notwithstanding grave provocation given by the Local authorities as in Dharwar, Matiar, Guntar, Chirala, Perala, Kerala, North-West Frontier Provinces, Keojhar and elsewhere.

The All-India Congress Committee tenders its sympathy and congratulations to the families of those who have lost their lives by the un-provoked fire opened upon them by the local authorities at several places, and congratulates all those brave and innocent citizens who have been wounded or are suffering imprisonment, and records its deep appreciation of the fact that in the majority of cases the patriots went to jail without offering any defence whatsoever.

Sympathy with the dead and suffering.

The All-India Congress Committee is of opinion that the way to freedom lies only through voluntary suffering and therefore through imprisonment of innocent men and women without defence or bail.

The All-India Congress Committee regards repression going on in several parts of the country and the serious and widespread repression going on in the United Provinces as a sign of the near approach of freedom and therefore hopes that the people in the provinces concerned will not be frightened or demoralized, and that willing workers will come forward to take the place of those who without any moral breach on their part might lose their lives or might be imprisoned.

Accepting Government Challenge.

The All-India Congress Committee has taken note of the reasonable desire of workers in the United Provinces and other parts to take up Civil Disobedience in answer to the repressive measures of the local Government and has also taken note of the fact that the administration in the North-West Frontier Province had even prohibited the entry into that province of the members of the Frontier Inquiry Committee appointed by the Central Khilafat

Civil Disobedience postponed till complete boycott of foreign cloth.

Committee to inquire into the outrages alleged to have been committed by the local officials in Banoo; but with a view to ensure greater stability of nonviolent atmosphere throughout India and in order to test the measure of influence attained by the Congress over the people and further in order to retain in the part of the nation an atmosphere free from ferment necessary for the proper and swift prosecution of *Swadeshi* the All-India Congress Committee is of opinion that Civil Disobedience should be postponed till after the completion of the programme referred to in the resolution on *Swadeshi* after which the Committee will not hesitate, if necessary to recommend a course of Civil Disobedience even though it might have to be adopted by a special session of the Congress provided, however, that it is open to any province or place to adopt Civil Disobedience subject to the previous approval of the Working Committee obtained within the constitution through the Provincial Committee concerned.

V. The All-India Congress Committee hereby authorises the Working Committee to take all such action as may be necessary to give effect to the resolutions of the Congress and of the All-India Congress Committee and to deal with all matters with which the All-India Congress Committee is empowered to deal and which may arise whilst this Committee is not sitting and which may require urgent attention.

Delegation of powers of the All-India Congress Committee to the Working Committee.

VI. The All-India Congress Committee calls upon the provinces to fulfil the quota of Bezwada Programme.

All places to fulfil their quota according to Bezwada Programme.

VII. * * * Records the resolution passed by the Central Khilafat Committee public meeting on 26th April 1921 with regard to the Congress Foreign Policy, urges promotion of feelings of amity and concord with neighbouring States.

Congress Foreign Policy.

VIII. Appoints Umer Sobhani as Treasurer in place of Chotani.

Joint Treasurer.

IX. Gives the names of the members of the Working Committee.

Working Committee Members.

X. The Secretaries to take steps to fill in the vacancies.

Working Committee Vacancies.

XI. Authorises the Working Committee to deal with the accounts of the Punjab Sub-Committee.

Accounts of Punjab Sub-Committee.

Arrest of Ali Brothers—September 1921

Mr. Gandhi and his followers devoted all their energies towards the boycott of foreign cloth by the 1st of August 1921. This period was, however, extended to the 30th of September 1921 in accordance with the decisions of the All-India Congress Committee which met in Bombay on 28th, 29th and 30th July 1921. The movement of the boycott of foreign cloth was carried on in full swing during the months of August and September 1921. Side by side the

movements of picketing of liquor-shops and the boycott of the Prince's Visit were simultaneously pushed on. In the middle of September 1921, however, an important event took place in Bombay. This was the arrest of Shaukat Ali on the night of 16th September 1921 in Bombay in connection with the resolution passed at the Karachi Khilafat Conference regarding the duties of Muslims not to serve the army. Simultaneously the arrest of Mahomed Ali at Waltair and other Karachi prisoners were also effected. Mr. Gandhi thereupon consulted in Bombay most of the Congressmen and as a result of the discussion with them a manifesto, signed by about 50 persons, was issued with a view to asserting the right of every citizen to express his opinion regarding the propriety or otherwise of individuals joining or remaining in the Civil or Military service of the Government. This manifesto was published in the *Bombay Chronicle* of 5th October and in the *Young India* of 6th October 1921. This manifesto stated "In view of the prosecution of Ali Brothers and others for the reasons stated in the Bombay Government Communique, dated 15th September 1921, we, the undersigned speaking in our individual capacity, desire to state that it is the inherent right of everyone to express his opinion without restraint about the propriety of citizens offering their services to or remaining in the employ of the Government whether in the Civil or Military Department. We, the undersigned, state it as our opinion that it is contrary to national dignity for an Indian to serve as a Civilian and more especially as a soldier under a system of Government which has brought about India's economic, moral and political degradation and which has used the soldiery and the police for repressing national aspirations, as, for instance at the time of the Rowlatt Act agitation, and which has used the soldiers for crushing the liberty of the Arabs, the Egyptians, the Turks and other nations who have done no harm to India. We are also of opinion that it is the duty of every Indian soldier and civilian to sever his connection with the Government and find some other means of livelihood.

Manifesto. M. K. Gandhi, Abdul Kalam Azad, Ajmal Khan, Lajpatrai, Motilal Nehru, Sarojini Naidu, Abbas Tayebji, N. C. Kelkar, V. J. Patel, Vallabhabhai J. Patel, Mr. M. R. Jaikar, D. V. Gokhale, S. V. Banker, Javaharlal Nehru, G. B. Deshpande, Lakhmidas Tairsee, Umer Sobhani, Jamnalal Bajaj, M. S. Ane, S.E. Stokes, Dr. Ansari, Khaliquzzaman, K. M. Abdul Gafoor, Abdul Bari, Krishnaji Nilkant, C. Raja Gopalchari, Konda Venkatappayya, G. Hari-sarvottamrao, Anusaya Sarabhai, Jitendra Lal Banerji, H. H. Kidwai, Shiam Sunder Chakravarty, Rajendra Prasad, Azad Sobhani, Hazrat Mohani, Mahadev Desai, B. F. Bharocha, Yacoob Hassan, Dr. Moonje, Jairamdas Dolafram, M. R. Cholkar, V. V. Dastane, A. H. S. Khatri, Guddar R. Rao, D. S. Vijairao, B. L. Subramayya, Chottani."

Mr. Gandhi then held a meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress on the 5th October 1921 in Bombay, and resolutions congratulating the Ali Brothers affirming the manifesto issued by 50 Congressmen (given above) restricting Civil Disobedience to individuals and declaring Hartal on the day of the Prince's arrival were passed.

On the 9th October 1921, Mr. Gandhi appeared in a loin-cloth at the bonfire meeting held in the compound of the Elphinstone Mill and made a lengthy speech repeating the Karachi resolutions and asking the people to carry out the Swadeshi programme in earnest.

Shaukat Ali's arrest in Bombay did not create any noteworthy excitement in the City. The people attended in large numbers the meetings held in Bombay and passed resolutions congratulating the Ali Brothers and repeating the Karachi resolutions at the instance of Mr. Gandhi and other leaders.

The following important resolutions were passed by the Working Committee held at Bombay on the 5th October 1921 :

1. The Working Committee congratulates the Ali Brothers and their Comrades upon their prosecutions and having considered the Karachi Khilafat Conference Resolution regarding military service under Government, the Working Committee is of opinion that the resolution virtually reaffirms the principle laid down by the Congress at its special session in Calcutta and its ordinary session in Nagpur last year, that it is contrary to the National dignity and national interest for any Indian to engage or remain in the service of the Government in any capacity whatever, a Government that has used the soldiers and the police for repressing the just aspirations of the people as during the Rowlatt Act agitation, and that has utilised the soldiers for the purpose of crushing the national spirit of the Egyptians, the Turks the Arabs and other nations. The Working Committee is further of opinion that the reasons for the prosecutions with reference to the said Karachi resolutions constitute an undue interference with religious liberty.

The Working Committee has been only deterred from calling out the soldiers and the civilians in the name of the Congress because the Congress is not yet ready to support those Government servants who may leave Government service and who may not be able themselves to find means of livelihood. The Working Committee is however, of opinion that in pursuance of the spirit of the Congress resolution on Non-co-operation, it is the clear duty of every Government employee, whether soldier or civilian, who can support himself without Congress assistance, to leave such service. The Working Committee draws the attention of the Indian soldiers and police to the fact that carding, hand-spinning, and hand weaving afford them by undergoing training for a brief period an honourable means for independent livelihood. The Working Committee advises all Congress Committees to organise meetings to adopt the foregoing resolution of the Working Committee.

Boycott of Foreign Cloth

2. The working Committee regrets to note that the boycott of foreign cloth, while it has made considerable progress during the last two months allowed by the All-India Congress Committee to complete, it has not been so completed, and appeals to Congress organizations to put forth special efforts to bring about a complete boycott of foreign cloth in their respective districts. before the end of the current month, and to that end organise manufacture of cloth by hand-spinning and hand-weaving.

Individual Civil Disobedience

3. The Working Committee considers that it is not possible to authorize any plan of general civil disobedience in any Congress district or province where effective boycott of foreign cloth has not been brought about and hand-spinning and hand-weaving have not been developed, so as to produce sufficient Khaddar for the wants of the district or the province. The Working Committee, however, authorises civil disobedience by individuals who may be prevented in the prosecution of the *swadeshi* propaganda provided it is done under the authority of the Provincial Congress Committee, and the Provincial Congress Committee is assured of a non-violent atmosphere being retained.

Boycott of the Prince's visit

The Working Committee is of opinion that on the day of the landing of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales there should be a general voluntary *hartal* throughout India and as to the effective boycott of any public welcome to His Royal Highness during the visit to the different cities of India, the Working Committee leaves the arrangement in the hands of the respective Provincial Congress (Sommittee).

Congress Foreign Policy

With reference to the resolution on foreign policy referred specially by the All-India Congress held in Bombay in July last to the Working Committee the latter is of opinion that the Congress should let it be known to the neighbouring and other States.

Boycott of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales Visit, 17th November 1921

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales arrived in Bombay on the morning of 17th November 1921. He was accorded a splendid popular reception. The streets were lined with cheering crowds all the way up to Chaupati. in all his public appearances his reception by the people clearly showed that the concentrated efforts of the non-co-operators to boycott the visit had largely failed.

Outbreak of Disturbances

The outbreak of disturbances on this day was accidental. That an outbreak would occur sooner or later, as a result of the agitation, was a feeling common to most people but there was nothing to indicate that it was going to occur on the 17th more than on any other day. The earlier disorders on the morning of the 17th were merely an expression of the intolerance of those non-co-operators who, having made up their minds that a hartal was the correct thing, were enraged that others should think differently in their attempts to force a hartal on the tram-drivers and shop-keepers and people going to meet the Prince. They met with little or no resistance from the Police who were engaged elsewhere, and the unruly element proceeded from one outrage to another till rioting became general.

Cause of excitement

The temper of the people had been worked up by constant public preaching to the pitch where respect for authority can easily be cast aside.

Agitation

During the six weeks preceding the Prince's arrival 19 public meetings had been held in Bombay for the express purpose of boycotting the visit and for several days previous to the visit two or three such meetings had been held every day. Leaflets and posters to the same effect had also been distributed in large numbers.

The one lesson which had been well hammered into the heads of all non-co-operators was that all patriotic citizens should boycott the visit. This was all well-known but there was no particular reason for believing that it was any part of the plan of non-co-operators or any section of them to promote the disturbances on the 17th. In this connection a fact of some significance was that during the Prince's stay of 5 days there was not one single incident as far as the Prince was concerned.

Effects of Disturbances

As a result of the disturbances, four liquor-shops were burnt down and 135 were looted or damaged. Two Anglo-Indians, Willis and Braig, and one American, Doherty, were murdered by the rioters. Two Parsis were murdered,

one in Belasis Road and one in Khetwadi, The Parsis were the common object of attack by the rioters. The fury against them were due to (1) their having taken part in welcoming the Prince, (2) then having possessed most of the Uquor-shops in Bombay and (3) their trafficking in liquor in sprite of the picketing movement.

The above disturbances led Mr. Gandhi to call the Working Committee of the Congress in Bombay. This was held on the 22nd and 23rd November when resolutions deploring the tragic occurrences in Bombay and urging upon the Congress Workers the necessity of obtaining control over all turbulent elements of the society were passed.

The Bombay disturbances gave a set-back to the campaign of the boycott of foreign cloth and similar activities.

The following important resolutions were passed by the Working Committee held at Bombay on the 22nd and 23rd November 1921 :

Bombay Disturbances deplored

1. This Committee deplores the tragic occurrences during the last few days in Bombay, resulting in racial strike and ending in loss of life and property. In the opinion of this Committee occurrences such as these cannot but retard the progress of the country towards its triple goal, and the Committee wishes in this connection to emphasise the fact that non-violent atmosphere is essential for the attainment of the country's goal.

Whilst by reason of this tragic occurrences this Committee recognises the necessity of caution, it sees no cause of discouragement, but is of opinion that the after-events give the greatest cause for satisfaction and congratulation in that Co-operators, Non-co-operators, Hindus and Musalmans, Parsis and Christians, without being demoralised by them, set about regaining control over the turbulent elements and were successful in bringing about peace without resort to any Government assistance whatsoever.

Control over " Mawalies " necessitated

This Committee note, in the quick and voluntary restoration of peace, the great advance the nation has made in the practice of non-violence and responding to its national leaders. This Committee invites Congress workers to use the occurrences as an indication of the weak spot in the national organization and urges upon all Congress and Khilafat organizations the necessity of obtaining control over all turbulent elements in society.

Sympathy for the sufferers

This Committee congratulates the citizens of Bombay upon their having regained the confidence and control of the population and also congratulates the nation upon the bravery of the volunteers and other non-co-operators who lost their lives or were injured whilst trying to prevent collision between rival factions. This Committee tenders its sympathy to the bereaved and the injured and ventures to ask them to regard their sorrows as the common lot of nations striving for self-realization.

Volunteer Organisation

This Committee is further of opinion that all volunteer organizations should be so formed as to become responsible for the retention of peaceful atmosphere within their respective jurisdictions and that only such volunteers should be enlisted and retained as are known to be pledged to the strictest observances of non-violence.

Warning against Civil Disobedience

This Committee desires to warn all Provincial Congress Committees against embarking upon Mass Civil Disobedience without first making certain of a peaceful atmosphere being retained throughout the province concerned, it being in the opinion of the Committee essential for the successful working of all Civil Disobedience that whilst it is in action in one part of India, the rests responds by remaining non-violent.

National Volunteer Corps

2. This Committee considers it of national importance that all Non-cooperation volunteers corps, Khilafat volunteer corps and other non-official volunteer bodies should be brought under Central Control and named National Volunteer Corps, and therefore advises the Provincial Congress Committees to appoint central boards in their respective provinces for controlling and bringing under uniform discipline all the existing volunteer corps and commends to their attention the following draft general instructions, and further requests the Central Khilafat Committee, the Khalsa Committee and other bodies, if they approve of the recommendations of this Committee to pass the necessary resolutions to give effect to them.

Instructions to Volunteers

Draft general instructions for volunteer organisations

Every volunteer should sign the following pledge in triplicate. One copy shall be given to the volunteer, one sent to the Central Office in every province and one kept in the district in which the volunteer is enlisted. The pledge shall be written in the language of the province in which the volunteer is resident, as also in Hindusthani, in Urdu and Devnagri scripts. As far as possible for the uniform of volunteers imitation of military uniform shall be avoided. Volunteers shall not carry any swords with them but may carry an ordinary walking stick not longer than four feet.

The lowest unit shall consist of twenty-people, of whom one shall be a leader elected by the members or a particular unit. Twenty such leaders shall elect from among themselves an officer. All other officers shall be appointed by the Central Provincial Office which shall consist of a board of five who elect their own chairman. All subordinate officers shall implicitly obey instructions issued from time to time by the board. The duties of volunteers shall be to preserve order, to regulate meetings, hartals and processions, and to render social service in emergencies in accordance with instructions given to them. No volunteer shall be enlisted who is known to be a bad character. The Central Board shall be under the control of and appointed by the Provincial Congress Committees. Khilafat volunteers should also form part of the National volunteers and be subject to the control of the Central Provincial Board. No one under 18 shall be enlisted as volunteer.

The Pledge—Pledge of the Volunteers

So long as I remain in any voluntary organization I shall faithfully and diligently carry out all the instructions received from any superiors. I shall observe the pledge of non-violence in word and in deed, and shall inculcate the spirit of non-violence amongst others. I shall regard the pledge as binding upon me so long as the policy of non-violence is continued by the nation. I shall run all risks attendant upon the performance of my duty.

The Ahmedabad Congress—December 1921

It may be noted that Mr. Gandhi's success in his efforts to collect a crore of rupees, made him more popular towards the end of the year 1921 than he had been in the beginning of that year. People began to believe that he would also be able to establish Swaraj within a year as promised by him in the press and on the platform. The public had an unreasoning belief in him and towards the end of the year he was practically at the height of his powers leading the Congress by the nose. C. R. Das. who was the President-elect of the Congress at Ahmedabad in December, 1921 was arrested a little before the Congress Session. Hakim Ajmal Khun was elected to preside in place of Das. The proceedings of the Ahmadabad Congress were short. The most important resolution was the resolution known as the " Non-co-operation Resolution. " The Congress, after reaffirming the Non-co-operation resolution passed at the Calcutta and Nagpur Congress Session, called upon all, in view of the repressive policy of Government since November 1921, to offer themselves for arrest quietly and without any demonstration by joining the Volunteer Organisations and advised the holding of committee meetings and even of public meetings in spite of prohibitions. The Congress further declared that Civil Disobedience was the only civilised and effective substitute for armed rebellion and advised Congress workers to organise individual and mass civil disobedience when the people had been sufficiently trained in methods of non-violence. It called upon all students and the staff of national institutions to join the National Volunteer Corps after signing the required pledge laid down by the Congress.

Gandhi's influence

Non-co-operation resolution reaffirmed.

Volunteer organisation.

Civil Dis-obedience to be organized.
National Volunteer Corps to be started.

That Gandhi was leading the Congress by the nose was clearly and conclusively proved from the fact that the Ahmadabad Congress appointed him as the sole " Dictator " of the Congress giving him also the power to appoint a deputy in case he was arrested according to the rumours then prevailing.

Gandhi— a Dictator.

Thus the Ahmedabad Congress was throughout a one-man show, and that, man was Mr. Gandhi.

TEXT OF RESOLUTION

Hazrat Mohani overruled

Hazrat Mohani's motion for change in the creed for full independence was. rejected by a majority.

After effects of the Congress in Bombay

Though the Congress passed the above-mentioned resolutions foreshadowing individual and mass civil disobedience as the only civilised and effective substitute for an armed rebellion, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, assisted by Messrs. Jinnah and Jayakar discussed with Gandhi' the advantages of a round table conference with His Excellency the Viceroy. Messrs. Jinnah and Jayakar on their return to Bombay from Ahmadabad held an informal conference of a few gentlemen like K. Natrajan and decided to hold a conference of representatives of all parties on the 14th and 15th January 1922. Sir Sankaran Nair was nominated as Chairman of the

Proposal for a Round Table Conference.

Conference. He presided at the opening session of the representative conference of the 14th January but on account of difference he retired from the conference the next day and Sir M. Visveswarya was elected to take his place. The attendance at this conference was about 200. Prominent persons present at the conference were M. K. Gandhi, M. A. Jinnah, M. R. Jayakar, K. Natrajan, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir M. Visveswarya, Sir Dinshaw Petit, Sir M. A. Wadia, Joseph Baptista, S. R. Bomanji, V. J. Patel, etc., etc. Five resolutions were passed by the conference. Mr. Gandhi and other non-co-operators took part in the discussion but on principle abstained from voting on the resolutions; but according to an informal undertaking given by Mr. Gandhi, the Working Committee of the Congress met in Bombay on 17th January and formally accepted the resolutions. The Working Committee of the Congress resolved that the offensive civil disobedience in contemplated by the Ahmadabad Congress should not be started till the 31st day of January 1922 or the receipt of a reply to the demand for a round table conference whichever might be the earlier. According to the resolution of this Working Committee all *hartals*, picketing and civil disobedience were to cease in the event of a round table conference simultaneously with the release of political prisoners and the withdrawal of notifications under the Criminal Law Amendment Act and Seditious Meetings Act as stated in resolution 3 of the Representative Conference.

Working Com-
mittee of the
Congress Bombay.

Futility of the Round Table Conference

The efforts made in this way to arrange for a round table conference proved futile as His Excellency the Viceroy replied that he was unable to discover, in the proposals submitted, the basis for a profitable discussion at a Round Table Conference and that no useful purpose would, therefore, be served by entering into any detailed examination of the terms proposed by the Representative Conference.

Gandhi's Ultimatum to His Excellency the Viceroy

In the meanwhile Mr. Gandhi had sent his ultimatum to His Excellency the Viceroy on 1st February 1922 to the effect that he would start civil disobedience at Bardoli if he failed to get a reply to his ultimatum within seven days. The date of starting civil disobedience at Bardoli was 11th February 1922. On the 1st February he proceeded to Bardoli to make arrangements.

Chauri Chaura Disturbances

Whilst Mr. Gandhi was thus engaged in his preparations for a campaign at Bardoli, information about serious riots at Chauri Chaura in the district of Gorakhpur reached him. He, therefore, called an emergent meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress at Bardoli on the 11th February. The Working Committee suspended civil disobedience at Bardoli and called upon all Congress organisations to concentrate their efforts on creating an atmosphere of non-violence and strengthening the Congress organisations by improving the Panchayats and National Educational Institutions, by enrolling members for the Congress and by carrying out the constructive programme of the Congress.

Bardoli Civil
Disobedience
suspended.

All-India Congress Committee, Delhi—24th February 1922

Mr. Gandhi observed a five days' fast as a penance for the Chauri Chaura tragedy. The All-India Congress Committee was convened at Delhi on 24th February 1922 to consider the situation in the country. This All-India Congress Committee practically reaffirmed the Bardoli resolutions of the Working Committee.

Gandhi's decline

The postponement of the mass civil disobedience at Bardoli signalled the decline of Mr. Gandhi's powers which had hitherto influenced the ignorant population of the whole of Gujarat. The Maharashtra people were annoyed at this attitude of Mr. Gandhi and the Maharashtra leaders, demanded revision of the Congress programme, but the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi ignored them. Differences in the ranks of non-co-operators began to manifest themselves and many Congress workers regarded the constructive programme chalked out as throwing a wet blanket on the enthusiasm of the people.

Activities regarding National Volunteer Corps

During the course of January and February 1922 the activities of the Congress workers in the city had been confined to the enrolment of national volunteers as advised by the Ahmadabad Congress. The real work in this direction commenced with the announcement in the *Bombay Chronicle* of 6th January 1922 asking volunteers to join the National Volunteer Corps. New enrolment forms, with the new pledge laid down at Ahmadabad, were introduced, and an Enrolment Committee, with S. G. Banker as its spokesman, was appointed. Strenuous efforts were made to enlist volunteers by issuing leaflets and by holding public meetings; but that only resulted in the enlistment of about 240 volunteers including 20 Mahomedans.

Mr. Gandhi's arrest and conviction in the middle of March 1922 practically put a stop to the volunteer movement.

Rumours of Mr. Gandhi's arrest, and his instructions to the public

In the beginning of March 1922 rumours were afloat that Mr. Gandhi would be arrested shortly. These rumours having reached him from many quarters he wrote an article entitled, " If I am arrested " in the issue of *Young India* dated 9th March 1922. Mr. Gandhi in this article advised the Working Committee to suspend Civil Disobedience and further advised the people to have no hartals, no noisy demonstrations and no processions on account of his arrest. He asked the people to carry out the Constructive Programme with clockwork regularity and spied of the Punjab Express.

Mr. Gandhi's arrest and conviction—March 1922

The above rumours were soon confirmed. Mr. Gandhi and S. G. Banker were arrested at Ahmadabad on the 10th March 1922 under section 124-A on three charges for spreading disaffection by his articles published in the *Young India* of September 29th, December 15th of 1921, and of 23rd February 1922. The offending articles were entitled " Tampering with Loyalty ", " The Puzzle and its Solution " and " Shaking the Manes ". The joint trial of Mr. Gandhi and Banker came up before Mr. Broomsfield, I.C.S., District and Sessions Judge of Ahmadabad. on 18th March 1922. Gandhi was sentenced on the 18th March to six years' simple imprisonment, while Banker was sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment with a fine of rupees 1,000 or in default six months' simple imprisonment. (For Mr. Gandhi's statement before the court and his letter to Hakim Ajmal Khan after his arrest please see pages 1049 to 1054 and 1037 to 1061 of the book " Young India " by Baboo Rajendra Prasad, 1924 edition).

Working Committee at Ahmadabad after Gandhi's arrest

On the 17th March 1922 and on the succeeding day the Working Committee of the Congress met at Ahmadabad and passed a resolution making it clear that Mr. Gandhi's arrest made no change in the programme laid down in the Bardoli and Delhi resolutions and calling upon all Congress organisations to carry out the Constructive Programme.

Effects of Gandhi's conviction in Bombay

The news of Mr. Gandhi's conviction reached Bombay on the 18th March and it was received very quietly. The only exhibition of feeling in Bombay was that the Cotton Bazaar opened for business a few hours late and the Share Bazaar closed down for ten minutes.

Agitation in Bombay after Mr. Gandhi's imprisonment

After the incarceration of Mr. Gandhi in March 1922 a general depression was noticeable amongst the people of Bombay. Except for the usual activities towards the fulfilment of the constructive programme there had been throughout the year 1922 practically no important importance in the agitation in the city. Congress workers exerted themselves to create enthusiasm among the people by observing the " Gandhi Day" on the 18th of every month and the " National Week or the Gandhi Week " in the months of April and September 1922. The " Gandhi Day" was more or less of a fiasco so far as the city was concerned. The injunction to subscribe the day's income to the Tilak Swaraj Fund was almost completely ignored. At almost all the meetings that were held during the year the use of khaddar was advocated and occasional attempts at popularising khaddar were made by the Congress workers by holding Swadeshi and Khaddar exhibitions and by khaddar-hawking in the city. As a result of the propaganda for khaddar-hawking during the last months of the year khaddar worth about Rs. 1,39,000 was reported to have been sold in the city.

The only noticeable event of the year was the appointment of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee in terms of a resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee which met at Lucknow on 7th June 1922 and the following two days. This Civil Disobedience Committee arrived in Bombay on July 17, 1922. The Committee held sittings in camera on 17th, 18th and 19th July, 1922 in the course of which 19 witnesses were examined.

Close of the year 1922

At the close of the year it was observed that owing to differences between the no-changers and the pro-changers who demanded Council-entry, there had been a general lull in activity and the people looked forward to the Ciaya Congress of December 1922 for the future programme of the country.

Ahmadabad Congress Resolutions—December 1921

The following resolutions were passed at the 36th Ordinary Session of the Indian National Congress at Ahmadabad :—

Whereas since the holding of the last National Congress the people of India have found from actual experience that by reason of the adoption of non-violent non-co-operation the country has made great advance in fearlessness, self-sacrifice and self-respect, and whereas the movement

Reaffirming	has greatly damaged the prestige of the Government, and whereas on the whole the
Non-co-operation resolution.	country is rapidly progressing towards <i>Swaraj</i> , this Congress confirms the resolution adopted at the Special Session of the Congress at Calcutta and reaffirmed at Nagpur, and places on record the fixed determination of the Congress to continue the programme of non-violent non-co-operation with greater vigour than hitherto in such manner as each province may determine till the Punjab and the Khilafat Wrongs are redressed and Swaraj is established and the control of the Government of India passes into the hands of the people from that of irresponsible corporation.

And whereas by reason of the threat uttered by His Excellency the Viceroy in his recent speeches, and the consequent repression started by the Concentrating Government of India in the various provinces by way on volunteering, of disbandment of volunteer corps, and forcible prohibition of public and even committee meetings in an illegal and high-handed manner, and by the arrest of many Congress workers in several provinces, and whereas repression is manifestly intended to stifle all Congress and Khilafat activities and deprive the public of their assistance, this Congress resolves' that all activities of the Congress be suspended as far as necessary and appeals to all, quietly and without any demonstration, to offer themselves for arrest, by belonging to the volunteer organisations to be formed throughout the country in terms of the resolution of the Working Committee arrived at in Bombay on the 23rd day of November last, provided that no one shall be accepted as volunteer who does not sign the following pledge :—

The Pledge

" With God as witness I solemnly declare that—

(1) I wish to be a member of the National Volunteer Corps.

(2) So long as I remain a member of the Corps I shall remain non-violent in word and deed and shall earnestly endeavour to be non-violent and intend since I believe that as India is accustomed to non-violence it alone can help the Khilafat and the Punjab and result in the attainment of *Swaraj* and consolidation of unity among all the races and communities of India whether Hindu, Musalman, Sikh, Parsi, Christian or Jew.

(3) I believe in and shall endeavour always to promote such unity.

(4) I believe in *Swadeshi* as essential for India's economic, political, moral salvation and shall use hand-spun and hand-woven Khaddar to the exclusion of every cloth.

(5) As a Hindu I believe in the justice and necessity of removing the evil of untouchability and shall on all possible occasions seek personal contact with and endeavour to render service to the submerged classes

(6) I shall carry out the instructions of any superior officers, and all the regulations, not inconsistent with the spirit of this pledge prescribed by the Volunteer Board or the Working Committee or any other agency established by the Congress.

(7) I am prepared to suffer imprisonment, assault or death for the sake of my religion and my country without resentment.

(8) In the event of my imprisonment I shall not claim from the Congress any support for my family or dependents."

This Congress trusts that every person of the age of 18 and over will immediately join the volunteer organisations.

II. Notwithstanding the proclamations prohibiting public meetings, and inasmuch as even committee meetings have been attempted to be construed as public meetings, this Congress advises the holding of committee meetings and of public meetings the latter in enclosed places and by tickets and by previous announcements at which as far as possible only speakers previously announced shall deliver written speeches, care being taken in every case to avoid risk of provocation and possible violence by the public in consequence.

Meetings to
continue.

III. The Congress is further of opinion that Civil Disobedience is the only civilised and effective substitute for an armed rebellion whenever every other remedy for preventing arbitrary, tyrannical and emasculating use of authority by individuals or corporation has been tried, and therefore advises all Congress workers and others who believe in peaceful methods and are convinced that there is no remedy, save some kind of sacrifice, to dislodge the existing Government from its position of perfect irresponsibility to the people of India, to organise individual civil disobedience when the mass of people have been sufficiently trained in the methods of non-violence and otherwise in terms of the resolution thereon of the last meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held at Delhi.

Organizing
individual Civil
Disobedience.

This Congress is of opinion that in order to concentrate attention upon Civil Disobedience whether mass or individual, whether of an offensive or defensive character, under proper safeguards and under instructions to be issued from time to time by the Working Committee or the Provincial Congress Committee concerned, all other Congress activities should be suspended whenever and wherever and to the extent to which, if found necessary.

This Congress calls upon all students of the age of 18 and over, particularly those studying in the national institutions and the staff thereof, immediately to sign the foregoing pledge and become members of the National Volunteer Corps.

IV. In view of the impending arrest of a large number of Congress workers this Congress whilst requiring the ordinary machinery to remain intact and to be utilised in the ordinary manner whenever feasible, hereby appoints, until further instructions, Mahatma Gandhi as the sole Executive Authority of the Congress and invests him with the full powers of the All-India Congress Committee including the power to convene a special session of the Congress or of the All-India Congress Committee or the Working Committee, such powers to be exercised between any two sessions of the All-India Congress Committee, and also with the power to appoint a successor in emergency.

Maharashtra—
Gandhi appointed
sole executive
authority.

The Congress hereby confers upon the said successor and all subsequent successors appointed in turn by their predecessors all his aforesaid powers :

Provided that nothing in this resolution shall be deemed to authorize Mahatma Gandhi or any of the aforesaid successors to conclude any terms of peace with the Government of India or the British Government without the previous sanction of the All-India Congress Committee to be finally ratified by the Congress specially for the purpose, and provided also that the 1st Article of the Congress Constitution shall in no case be altered by Mahatma Gandhi or his successors except with the leave of the Congress first obtained.

Congress alone to
conclude peace or to l
of the Constitution.

V. This, Congress congratulates all those patriots who are now undergoing imprisonment for the sake of their conscience or country and realises that their sacrifice has considerably hastened the advent of *swaraj*.

Congratulations to
sufferers.

VI. This Congress appeals to all those who do not believe in full non-co-operation or in the principle of non-co-operation, but who consider it essential for the sake of national self-respect to demand and insist

Inter-com Khaddar and Untouchability.	upon the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, and for the sake full national self-expression, to insist upon the immediate establishment of <i>swaraj</i> to render full assistance to the nation in the promotion of unity between the different religious communities, to popularise carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving from its economical aspect and as a cottage industry necessary in order to supplement the resources of millions of agriculturists who are living on the brink of starvation, and to that end preach and practise the use of hand-spun and hand-woven garments, to help the cause of total prohibition, if Hindu to bring about the removal of untouchability and to help the improvement of the condition of the submerged classes.
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VII. This Congress expresses its firm conviction that the Moplah disturbance was not due to the Non-co-operation or the Khilafat movement especially as the Non-co-operators and the Khilafat preachers were denied opportunities of carrying on effective propaganda of non-violence in the affected parts by the District authorities for six months before the disturbances, but is due to causes wholly unconnected with the two movements, and that the outbreak could not have occurred, had the message of non-violence been allowed to reach them. Nevertheless this Congress deplores the acts done by certain Moplahs by way of forcible conversions and destruction of life and property and is of opinion that the prolongation of disturbances in Malabar could have been prevented by the Government of Madras by accepting the proffered assistance of Maulana Yacoob Hassan and other non-co-operators and allowing Mahatma Gandhi to proceed to Malabar, and it is further of opinion that the treatment of Moplah prisoners as evidenced by the asphyxiation incident was an act of inhumanity unheard of in modern times and unworthy of a Government that calls itself civilized.

Congratulation to Kemal Pasha and the Turks.	VIII. This Congress congratulates Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the Turks upon their success and assures the Turkish Nation of India's sympathy and support in its struggle to retain its status and independence.
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Bombay Disturbances

IX. This Congress deplores the occurrences that took place in Bombay on the 17th November last and after, and assures all parties and communities that it has been and is the desire and determination of the Congress to guard their rights to the fullest extent. This Congress heartily congratulates Shrimant Baba Guruditsingh, the great organiser of Shri Nanak Steamer, who willingly surrendered himself after seven years' fruitless search by the Government as a sacrifice for the nation, and also congratulates the other Sikh leaders who have preferred imprisonment to the restriction of their religious rights and liberty, and congratulates the Sikh community on their non-violent spirit at the time of the Babaji's arrest and on other occasions inspite of great provocation by the police and the military.

Change in the Constitution

XI. The following changes be introduced in the constitution:—

1. In article 4 instead of " The age 21 " read " The age of 18 ".
2. At the end of article add VII and " Provided that no person shall become a member of the two parallel Congress organisations at one and the same time."

3. At the end of clause 3, Article VIII, add " The members of the All-India Congress Committee shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the Congress, the Provincial Congress Committees deducting the number of elected and the *ex-officio* members of the All-India Congress Committee in their provinces, if any, from the number of delegates they are entitled to return."

4. In clause 5, Article VII, remove the brackets and after " A single transferable vote " add " or by any other method ".

5. in clause 2 of Article XIX after "Shall be" add " the elected president ".

6. In the same clause, after " Past presidents of the Congress " add " if they sign the Congress creed and are members of any Congress organisation."

7. In article XXIII after "The General Secretaries" add "and two treasurers " and in the beginning of the second sentence instead of the word " They " read " General Secretaries ".

XII. This Congress re-appoints Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. Ansari and Syt. C. General Secretaries and acting secretaries. Rajagopalacharyar as general secretaries of the Congress for the year 1922 and as Pandit Motilal Nehru and Syt. Rajagopalacharyar are now in jail, appoints Sty. Vithalbhai J. Patel and Dr. Rajan respectively to act for them, the former to be the Working Secretary.

XIII. This Congress appoints Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Seth Chotani as treasurers of the Treasurers. Congress, the former to be the Working Treasurer.

Resolutions passed at the Representative Conference held in Bombay on the 14th and 15th January 1922

Resolution No. 1.—This conference is strongly of opinion that the policy adopted by Government within the last few weeks of extending and applying the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Seditious Meetings Act to various parts of the country and of misusing the ordinary law in connection with political offences, leading to wholesale arrests and imprisonments, including those of some of the most respected leaders and citizens, constitutes an unwarranted encroachment upon the elementary rights of citizenship of the freedom of press; and of liberty of speech and association has defeated its own object by alienating popular sympathy, and aggravating the general discontent and ought to be reversed without delay.

Resolution No. 2.—This conference is further of opinion that until it is clear beyond any doubt that no other means will secure a redress of the country's grievances and the status of full Responsible Government, the Civil Disobedience contemplated by the Ahmedabad Congress ought not to be resorted to.

Resolution No. 3.—In response to the sentiments expressed by His Excellency the Viceroy in his speech at Calcutta on the 21st December 1921, and in order to explore all methods of reaching a harmonious and honourable settlement of the important issues now before the country, namely the Punjab, the Khilafat wrongs, and the demand for *Swaraj* or full responsible Government on the Dominion' basis, this conference supports the proposal for a Round Table Conference between the Government and popular representatives, and is of opinion that, in order to provide a favourable atmosphere for the dispassionate consideration of the points in controversy, all notifications issued and orders passed by Government under Act XIV of 1908, Part II, and the Seditious Meetings Act, should be withdrawn and all prisoners convicted or under arrest or prosecution under the aforesaid, notifications or order should be released, as

also the Fatwa prisoners, and that inasmuch as persons have been convicted for non-violent activities of an innocent character under cover of the ordinary law a committee should be appointed by Government consisting of two persons, one to be nominated by Government and the other by the Committee of Conference appointed by resolution No. 5 with power to them to appoint an umpire to investigate the cases of the persons hereinbefore referred to and that such of them as might be recommended by the said committee or umpire be released and that pending the results of the said conference, all hartals, picketing and civil disobedience should cease.

Resolution No. 4.—The Conference is likewise of opinion that, having regard to the critical situation in the country and the desirability of effecting an early settlement, the Round Table Conference should be called as soon as possible and that His Majesty's Government should clothe His Excellency the Viceroy with the authority necessary for the purpose of arriving at a settlement.

Resolution No. 5.—Without at present going into the particulars of the demands of the country with reference to the Punjab, Khilafat and *Swaraj* questions, this Conference hereby appoints a committee of the following persons to carry on all communications with the Government on the other, with a view to arranging the composition, the dates and other details relating to the holding of the said Round Table Conference and for all purposes incidental to the carrying out of these resolutions, including when necessary, the convening of another Representative Conference. The committee to consist of:

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|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Sir M. Visvesvaraya, | 12. Mr. Joseph Baptista, |
| 2. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, | 13. Mr. Raizada Rhagat Ram, |
| 3. Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer, | 14. Mr. M. G. Bhurgri, |
| 4. Sir P. C. Ray, | 15. Mr. B. Chakrabarti, |
| 5. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, | 16. Dr. Gour, |
| 6. Mr. M. R. Jayakar, | 17. Mr. Pandit Kunzru, |
| 7. Sir Dinshaw Petit, | 18. Mr. K. Natrajan, |
| 8. Sir H. A. Wadia, | 19. Mr. Hassam Imam, |
| 9. Mr. C. R. Reddy, | 20. Pandit Gorakmath Misra, |
| 10. Mr. S. Satyamurti, | 21. Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai |
| 11. Professor S. C. Mukerji, | |

with powers to co-opt.

The following important resolution was passed at the meeting of the working Committee at Bombay held on 17th January 1922:

The Working Committee places on record its thanks to Pandit Malaviyaji and his fellow-conveners for convening the Conference of persons belonging to the various political parties in the country for the purpose of considering the existing tension and having considered the resolutions of the Conference the Committee resolves that the offensive Civil Disobedience contemplated by the Ahmadabad Congress be not started till the 31st day of January 1922 or pending the result of the negotiations undertaken by the Committee of the Malaviya Conference for a Round Table Conference, whichever may be the first date.

The Working Committee considers it necessary, for the purpose of creating an atmosphere favourable for a successful Round Table Conference, that (a) All notifications and notices declaring illegal and prohibiting the formation of

volunteer corps, public meetings, picketing and the normal activities of the Congress or the Khilafat Committee be withdrawn and the prisoners under-going prosecution or conviction in respect of such notices be discharged or released as the case may be; (b) All Fatwa prisoners including the Ali Brothers-and their companions be released; (c) All other prisoners already convicted or under trial for non-violent or other innocent activities be dealt with and discharged in the manner appointed therefore in the resolution of the Conference; and (d) That simultaneously with the performance of the foregoing acts by the Government's concerned and in the event of a Round Table Conference, all *hartals* picketing and civil disobedience should cease. In order to avoid any misunderstanding about the Congress demands the Working Committee desires to draw the attention of the Committee appointed by the Malaviya Conference to the Khilafat, the Punjab and the *Swaraj* claims as stated publicly from time to time from Congress platforms, and to state that the Congress and the Khilafat representatives will be bound to demand full statement of the three claims.

(Copy of Mr. Gandhi's ultimatum to His Excellency the Viceroy)

Mr. Gandhi's ultimatum regarding Bardoli Civil Disobedience.

Bardoli, 1st February 1922

To

His Excellency the Viceroy, Delhi.

Sir,

Bardoli is a small Tehsil in the Surat District in the Bombay Presidency, having a population about 87,000 all told.

On the 29th ultimo it (Bardoli) decided under the presidency of Mr. Vithalbhai J. Patel to embark on Mass Civil Disobedience, having proved its fitness for it in terms of resolution of the All-India Congress Committee which met at Delhi during the first week of November last. But as I am, perhaps, chiefly responsible for Bardoli's decision, I owe it to Your Excellency and the public to explain the situation under which the decision has been taken.

It was intended under the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee before referred to make Bardoli the first unit for Mass Civil Disobedience in order to mark the national revolt against the Government's consistently criminal refusal to appreciate India's resolve regarding the Khilafat, the Punjab and *Swaraj*.

Then followed the unfortunate and regrettable rioting on the 17th November last in Bombay, resulting in the postponement of the step contemplated by Bardoli.

Meantime repression of virulent type has taken place with the concurrence of the Government of India, in Bengal, Assam, the United Provinces, the Punjab, the provinces of Delhi and in a way in Behar and Orissa and elsewhere. I know that you have objected to the use of the word "Repression" for describing the action of the authorities in these provinces. In my opinion, when an action is taken which is in excess of the requirements of the situation it is undoubtedly "Repression". The looting of property, assaults on innocent people, brutal treatment of the prisoners in jails including flogging, can in no sense be described as legal, civilised or in any way necessary. This official lawlessness cannot be described by any other terms but lawless repression.

Intimidation of Non-co-operators or their sympathisers to a certain extent in connection with hartals and picketing may be admitted; but in no case can it be held to justify the wholesale suppression of peaceful volunteering or equally peaceful public meetings, under the distorted use of an extraordinary law, which was passed in order to deal with the activities which were manifestly violent both in intention and action, nor is it possible to designate as otherwise than repression, action taken against innocent people under what has appeared to many of us an illegal use of the ordinary law nor again can the administrative interference with the liberty of the press under a law that is under promise of repeal be regarded as nothing but repression.

The immediate task before the country, therefore, is to rescue from paralysis, freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of press.

In the present mood of the Government of India and in the present unprepared state of the country in respect of complete control of the sources of violence, non-co-operators were unwilling to have anything to do with the Malaviya Conference whose object was to induce Your Excellency to convene a Round Table Conference. But as I was anxious to avoid all avoidable suffering, I had no hesitation in advising the Working Committee of the Congress to accept the recommendations of that Conference.

Although in my opinion the terms were quite in keeping with your own requirements, as I understood them through your Calcutta speech and otherwise, you have summarily rejected the proposal.

In the circumstances, there is nothing before the country but adopt some nonviolent method for the enforcement of its demands including the elementary rights of free speech, free association and free press. In my humble opinion the recent events are a clear departure from the civilised policy laid down by Your Excellency at the time of the generous, mainly and unconditional apology of the Ali Brothers, namely, that the Government of India should not interfere with the activities of non-co-operators so long as they remained non-violent in word and deed. Had the Government policy remained neutral and allowed public opinion to ripen and have its full effect, it would have been possible to advise postponement of the adoption of civil disobedience of an aggressive type till the Congress had acquired fuller control over the forces of violence in the country and enforced greater discipline among the millions of its adherents.

But the lawless repression (in a way unparalleled in the history of this unfortunate country) has made immediate adoption of Mass Civil Disobedience an imperative duty. The Working Committee of the Congress has restricted it only to certain areas to be selected by me from time to time and present it is confined only to Bardoli. I may, under the said authority, give my consent at once in respect of group of 100 villages in Guntur in the Madras Presidency, provided they can strictly conform to the conditions of non-violence, unity among different classes, the adoption and manufacture of hand-spun khaddar and untouchability. But before the people of Bardoli actually commence Mass Civil Disobedience. I would respectfully urge you as the head of the Government of India finally to revise your policy and set free all the non-co-operating prisoners who are convicted or under trial for non-violent activities and declare in clear terms the policy of absolute non-interference with all non-violent activities in the country, whether they be regarding the redress of the Khilafat or the Punjab Wrongs or *Swaraj* or any other purposes and even though they fall within the repressive sections of the Penal Code or the Criminal Procedure Code or other repressive laws, subject always to the conditions of non-violence, I would further urge you to free the press from all administrative control and restore all the fines and forfeitures recently imposed. In thus urging I am asking

Your Excellency to do what is today being done in every country, which is deemed to be under civilized Government. If you can see your way to make the necessary declaration within seven days of the date of publication of this manifesto, I shall be prepared to advise postponement of Civil Disobedience of an aggressive character till the imprisoned workers have after their discharge', reviewed the whole situation and considered it *de novo*. If the Government make the requested declaration, I shall regard it as the honest desire on its part to give effect to public opinion and shall, therefore, have no hesitation in advising the country to be engaged in further moulding the public opinion without violent restraint from either side and trust to its working to secure the fulfilment of its unalterable demands. Aggressive civil disobedience in that case will be taken up only when the Government departs from the policy of strictest neutrality or refuses to yield to clearly expressed opinion of the vast majority of the people of India.

I remain,
Your Excellency's Faithful Servant and friend,
(Signed) M. K. GANDHI.

Working Committee at Bardoli

*Resolution passed by the Working Committee at Bardoli on 11 th and
12th February 1922.*

This emergent meeting of the Committee was held to consider the situation created by the *Chauri Chaura* disturbances in Gorakhpur District. '

The following members were present:—

Mahatma Gandhi (in the chair).

Seth M. M. H. J. M. Chotani.

Seth Jamnalal Bajaj.

Syt. Vithalbhai J. Patel.

Syt. N. C. Kelkar.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Messrs. K. Natrajan and M. R. Jayakar specially came down from Bombay and gave the Committee the benefit of their views. After hearing them the Committee deliberated for about three hours and the following resolutions were passed :

Chauri Chaura Disturbances deplored

I. The Working Committee deplores the inhuman conduct of the mob at Chauri Chaura in having brutally murdered constables and wantonly burned the police thana and tenders its sympathy to the families of the bereaved.

Civil Disobedience at Bardoli suspended

In view of Nature's repeated warnings every time mass civil disobedience has been imminent, some popular violent outburst has taken place indicating that the atmosphere in the country is not non-violent enough for mass civil disobedience, the latest instance being the tragic and terrible events at Chauri Chaura near Gorakhpur, the Working Committee of the Congress resolves that mass civil disobedience contemplated at Bardoli and elsewhere be suspended and instruct the local Congress Committees forth-with to advise the cultivators to pay the revenue and other dues to the Government and whose payment might have been suspended in anticipation of mass civil disobedience, and instructs them to suspend every other preparatory activity of an offensive nature.

The suspension of mass civil disobedience shall be continued till the atmosphere is so non-violent as to ensure the non-repetition of popular atrocities such as at Gorakhpur or hooliganism such as at Bombay and Madras, respectively on the 17th November 1921 and 13th January last.

Abnormal Congress Activities stopped

In order to promote a peaceful atmosphere the Working Committee advises till further instructions, all Congress organisations to stop activities specially designed to court arrest and imprisonment, save normal Congress activities including voluntary *Hartals*, wherever an absolutely peaceful atmosphere can be assured, and for that end all picketing shall be stopped save for the *bona-fide* and peaceful purpose of warning the visitors to liquor-shops against the evils of drinking, such picketing to be controlled by persons of known good character and specially selected by the Congress Committees concerned.

Volunteer Processions stopped

The Working Committee advises till further instructions the stoppage of all volunteer processions and public meetings merely for the purpose of defiance of the notification regarding such meetings ;. this, however, shall not interfere with the private meetings of Congress and other Committees or public meetings which are required for the conduct of the normal activities of the Congress.

Complaints having been brought to the notice of the Working Committee that ryoters are not paying rents to the zamindars, the Working Committee advises Congress Workers and organisations to inform the ryoters that such withholding of rents is contrary to the resolutions of the Congress and that it is injurious to the best interests of the country.

The Working Committee assures the zamindars that the Congress movement is in no way intended to attack their legal rights and that even where the ryoters have grievances the Committee's desire is that redress should be sought by mutual consultations and by the usual recourse to arbitrations.

Only pledged volunteers should be on the list

Complaints have been brought to the notice of the Working Committee that in the formation of volunteer crops great laxity prevails in the selection and that insistence is not laid on the full use of hand-spun and hand-wollen khaddar and on the full observance by Hindus of the rules as to the removal of untouchability, nor is care being taken to ascertain that the candidate believe fully in the observance of non-violence in intent, word and deed in terms of the Congress Resolution, the Working Committee calls upon all Congress organisations to revise their list and remove from them the names of all volunteers as do not strictly conform to the requirements of the pledge.

The Working Committee is of opinion that unless Congressmen carry out to the full the Congress constitution and the resolutions from time to time issued by the Working Committee it is not possible to achieve its objects expeditiously or at all.

The foregoing resolution will have effect only pending the meeting to be specially convened of the All-India Congress Committee and thereafter subject to confirmation by it, the secretary to call such meeting as early as possible after the consultation with Hakim Ajmal Khan.

Committee to draft scheme for employment of persons giving up Government Service

II. In the opinion of the Working Committee a project is necessary for the purpose of finding employment for those who may give up Government service and to that end the Committee appoints Messrs. Mia Mahomed Haji Jan

Mahomed Chotani, Jamnalal Bajaj and J. J. Patel to draw up a scheme for consideration by the said special meeting of the All-India Congress Coimmittee.

III. Whereas the Gorakhpur tragedy is a powerful proof of the fact that the mass mind has not yet fully realised the necessity of non-violence as an integral active and chief part of mass civil disobedience and whereas the reported in discriminate acceptance of persons as volunteers in contravention of the Congress instructions betrays want of appreciation of the vital part of *Satya-graha*, and whereas in the opinion of the Working Committee the delay in the attainment of the national aim is solely due to the weak and incomplete execution in practice of the constitution of the Congress and with a view of perfecting the internal organisation.

Constructive Programme to be carried out

The Working Committee advised all Congress organisations to be engaged in the activities :—

(1) To enlist at least one crore of members of the Congress.

Note.—(1) Since peace (Non-violence) and legitimacy (Truth) are the essence of the Congress creed, no person should be enlisted who does not believe in non-violence and truth as indispensable for the attainment of Swaraj. The creed of the Congress must therefore be carefully explained to each person who is appealed to, to join the Congress.

Note.—(2) The workers should note that no one who does not pay the annual subscription can be regarded as a qualified Congressman, all the old members are therefore to be advised to register their names.

(2) To popularise the spinning-wheel and to organise the manufacture of hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar.

Note.—To this end all workers and office-bearers should be dressed in khaddar and it is recommended that, with a view to encourage others, they should themselves learn hand-spinning.

(3) To organise national schools.

Note.—No picketing of the Government schools should be resorted to, but reliance should be placed upon the superiority of national schools to command attendance.

(4) To organise the depressed classes for a better life, to improve their social, mental and moral condition, to induce them to send their children to national schools and to provide for them the ordinary facilities which the other citizens enjoy.

Note.—Whilst therefore in places where the prejudice against the untouchables is still strong, separate schools and separate wells must be maintained out of the Congress Funds, every effort should be made to draw such children to national schools and to persuade the people to allow untouchables to use the common wells.

(5) To organise the temperance campaign amongst the people addicted to the drink habit by house-to-house visits and to rely more upon appeal to the drinker in his home than by picketing.

(6) To organise village and town panchayats for the private settlement of all disputes, reliance being placed solely upon force of public opinion and the truthfulness of Panchayat decisions to ensure obedience to them.

Note.—In order to avoid even the appearance of coercion social boycott should be resorted to against those who will not obey the Panchayat decisions.

(7) In order to promote and emphasize unity among the classes and races and mutual goodwill, the establishment of which is the aim of the movement of non-co-operation, to organise a social service department that will render help to all, irrespective of differences, in times of illness or accident.

Note.—A non-co-operator, whilst firmly adhering to his creed, will deem it a privilege to render personal service in case of illness or accident to every person whether English or Indian.

(8) To continue the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund collections and call upon every Congressman or Congress sympathiser to pay at least one hundredth part of his annual income for 1921. Every province to send every month twenty-five per cent of its income for the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund to the All-India Congress Committee.

The above resolution shall be brought before the forth-coming session of the All-India Congress Committee for revision if necessary.

IV. That the next meeting of the Working Committee will be held on the day on which the forthcoming session of the All-India Committee meets.

National Volunteer Corps

A small beginning in the direction of enrolling national volunteers had been made in Bombay a little before the Ahmedabad Congress consequent upon the arrest of the Congress leaders such as C. R. Das, Lajpatrai, etc. but the enrolment had stopped when the Congress Workers left

How started. Bombay for the Ahmedabad Congress. Up to the 5th of January 1922 there had been practically no enlistment. In pursuance of the Ahmedabad Congress Resolution on the subject an announcement appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 6th January 1922 asking volunteers to join the National Volunteer Corps. The original enrolment of about 40

Pogress. volunteers before the Congress had become invalid on account of the change in the pledge made at the Ahmedabad Congress. New enrolment forms with the new pledge had, therefore, to be printed. On the 9th January 1922 it was observed that there had been a very poor response from the general public in the city. For the enrolment of volunteers applications had

Procedure. to be attested by two witnesses and sent to the Enrolling Committee consisting of S. G. Banker and two other members of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.

The applicant was then directed to give ail particulars mentioned in the enrolment form to the enrolling Committee and sign the pledge laid down by the Ahmedabad Congress. When the

Enrolment Form Fledge. necessary particulars were approved by the Enrolling Committee, an enrolment certificate signed by S. G. Banker was given to the applicant, and he was admitted to the Bombay National Volunteer Corps either as active or as a resetve volunteer.
Enrolment Certificate.

Final Progress

As the progress was very poor, appeals were made to the public by means of leaflets and at meetings. According to the list that appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle* on 1st February 1922 the city had registered 53 volunteers on the active list and 134 on the reserve list. These lists included most of the prominent leaders of the Non-co-operation movement. The strenuous efforts made by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Khadilkar and others resulted in the enrolment of only 240 volunteers including about

Drilling. 20 Mahomedan volunteers up to February 13th. In the middle of February it was observed that only about 25 volunteers turned up on the Esplanade Maidan to receive preliminary instructions in drill.

Gandhi's Arrest

In the meantime news about Gandhi's arrest on 10th March was received in Bombay and a notice appeared in the press calling on all active volunteers to turn out in Dean Lane, Fort, with a view to preserving order in case there arose any disturbance on account of Gandhi's arrest; but only 20 volunteers put in an appearance. On the 18th March the news of Gandhi's conviction reached Bombay and the movement died forthwith.

Movement at a standstill.

ENROLMENT FORM

No.....

Subject

Name in full

Particulars to be filled in by the person enrolling.

Full Address

Phone No.

Date of birth

Nationality

Firm or company (if any) with which
at present employed and designation
of appointment therein

Location of present employment

Particulars of any training or service
as volunteer previous to enrolment.

Names of references

On reserved list—Active service list
and particular branch, corps or unit
in which enrolment desired

Languages known

Identification marks

I solemnly declare that the entries made by me in this form are true and that I am willing to fulfil the engagements made.

Signature.

Certified that the applicant understands and agrees to the conditions of enrolment.

Signature of Enrolling Officer.

Pledge

With God as witness, I solemnly declare that (1) I wish to be a member of the National Volunteer Corps ; (2) so long as I remain a member of the Corps I, shall remain non-violent in word and deed, and shall earnestly endeavour to be non-violent in intent, since I believe that as India is circumstanced, non-violence alone can help the Khilafat and the Punjab and result in the attainment of *Swaraj* and consolidation of unity among all the caces and communities of India, whether Hindu, Mussalman, Sikh, Parsi, Christian, or Jew ; (3) I believe in and shall endeavour always to promote such unity ; (4) I believe in *Swadeshi* as essential for India's economic, political, and moral salvation, and shall use hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar to the exclusion of every other cloth ; (5) as a Hindu, I believe in the justice and necessity of removing the evil of untouchability and shall on all possible occasions seek personal contact with and endeavour to render service to the submerged classes ; (6) I shall carry out the instructions of my superior officers and all the regulations not inconsistent with the spirit of this pledge prescribed by the Volunteer Boards or the Working Committee or any other agency established by the Congress ; (7) I am prepared to suffer imprisonment, assault, or even death for the sake of my religion and my country, without resentment; (8) in the event of my imprisonment I shall not claim from the Congress any support for my family or dependents.

Signature.

No.....

Enrolment Certificate

Mr

Address

has been admitted to Bombay National Volunteer Corps as Active/Reserve Volunteer with effect from.....

(Signed) S. G. BANKER,
Enrolling Officer,
Bombay National Volunteer Corps.

Bombay,

(Instructions in the event of Mr. Gandhi's arrest-

Young India, 9th March 1922)

If I am Arrested
By M. K. GANDHI

The rumour has been received that my arrest is imminent. It is said to be regarded as a mistake by some officials that I was not arrested when I was to be, that is on the 11th or 12th of February, and that the Bardoli decision ought not to have been allowed to affect the Government's programme. It is said, too, that it is now no longer possible for the Government to withstand the ever rising agitation in London for my arrest and deportation. I myself cannot see how the Government can avoid arresting me, if they want a permanent abandonment of Civil Disobedience, whether individual or mass.

I advised the Working Committee to suspend Mass Civil Disobedience at Bardoli, because that disobedience would not have been civil, and if I am now advising all provincial workers to suspend even individual civil disobedience, it is because I know, that my disobedience at the present stage will be not civil but criminal. A tranquil atmosphere is an indispensable condition of Civil Disobedience. It is humiliating for me to discover that there is a spirit of violence abroad and that of the Government of the United Provinces has been obliged to enlist additional police for avoiding a repetition of Chauri Chaura. I do not say that all that is claimed to have been happened has happened, but is impossible to ignore all the testimony that is given in proof of the growing spirit of violence in some parts of those provinces. In spite of my political differences with Pandit Haridayanath Kunzru, I regard him to be above wilful perversion of truth. I consider him to be one of the most capable among public workers. He is not a man to be easily carried away. When, therefore, he gives an opinion upon anything, it immediately arrests my attention. Making due allowance for the colouring of his judgement by reasons of his pro-Government attitude, I am unable to dismiss his report of the Chauri Chaura tragedy as unworthy of consideration. Nor is it possible to ignore letters received from zamindar and others informing me of the violent temperament and ignorant lawlessness in the United Provinces. I have before me the Bareilly report signed by the Congress Secretary. Whilst the authorities behaved like madmen and forgot themselves in their fit of anger, we are not, if that report is to be believed, without fault. The volunteer procession was not a civil demonstration. It was insisted upon in spite of a sharp division of opinion in our own ranks. Though the crowds that gathered were not violent, the spirit of the demonstration was undoubtedly violent. It was an impotent show of force wholly unnecessary for our purpose and hardly a prelude to Civil Disobedience. That the authorities could have handled the procession in a better spirit, that they ought not to have interfered with the Swaraj Flag, that they ought not to have objected to the use of the Town Hall which was town property (as Congress offices) in view of the fact that it had been so used for some months with permission of the Town Council, is all very true. But we have ceased to give credit to the authorities for common or reasonable sense. On the contrary, we have set ourselves against them because we expect nothing but unreason and violence from them, and knowing that the authorities would act no better than they did, we should have refrained from all the previous irritating demonstrations. That the United Provinces Government are making a mountain of a molehill, that they are discounting their own provocation given by the murdered men at Chauri Chaura, is nothing new. All that I am concerned with is that it is not possible for us to claim that we have given them no handle whatsoever. It is therefore, as a penance that Civil Disobedience has been suspended. But if the atmosphere clears-up, the people will realise the full value of the adjective "civil" and become in reality non-violent both in spirit and in deed, and if I find

that the Government still do not yield to the people's will, I shall certainly be the first person to advocate individual or mass civil disobedience as the case may be. There is no escape from that duty without the people wishing to their surrender birthright.

I doubt the sincerity of Englishmen who are born fighters, when they declaim against Civil Disobedience as if it was a diabolical crime to be punished with exemplary severity. If they have glorified armed rebellions and resorted to them on due occasions why are many of them in arms against the very idea of civil resistance : I can understand their saying that the attainment of a non-violent atmosphere is a virtual possibility in India. I do not believe it, but I can appreciate such an objection. What, however, is beyond my comprehension is the dead set made at against the very theory of Civil Disobedience as it was something immoral. To expect me to give the preaching of Civil Disobedience is to ask me to give up preaching peace, which would be tantamount to asking me to commit suicide.

I have now been told that the Government are compassing the destruction of the three weeklies which I am conducting, namely, *Young India*, *Gujarati Navjivan* and *Hindi Navjivan*. I hope that the rumour has no foundation. I claim that these three journals are insistently preaching nothing but peace and goodwill. Extraordinary care is taken to give nothing but truth, as I find it, to the readers. Every inadvertent inaccuracy is admitted and corrected. The circulation of the weeklies is daily growing. The conductors are voluntary workers, in some cases taking no salary whatsoever and in the others receiving mere maintenance money. Profits are all returned to the subscribers in some shape or other or are utilised for some constructive public activity or other. I cannot say that I shall not feel a pang, if these journals cease to exist. But it is the easiest thing for the Government to put them down. The publishers and printers are all friends and co-workers.

My compact with them is that the moment Government asks for security, that moment the newspapers must stop. I am conducting them upon the assumption that whatever view the Government may take of my activities, they at least give me credit for preaching through these newspapers nothing but the purest non-violence and truth, according to my lights.

I hope, however, that whether the Government arrest me or whether they stop by direct or indirect means the publication of the three journals, the public will remain unmoved. It is a matter of no pride or pleasure to me but one of humiliation that the Government refrain from arresting me for fear of an outbreak of universal violence and lawful slaughter that any such outbreak must involve. It would be a sad commentary upon my preaching of, and upon the Congress and Khilafat pledge of non-violence if my incarceration was to be a signal for a storm all over the country. Surely, it would be a demonstration of India's unreadiness for a peaceful rebellion it would be triumph for the bureaucracy, and it would be almost a final proof of the correctness of the position taken up by the Moderate friends, namely that India can never be prepared for non-violent disobedience. I hope therefore that the Congress and Khilafat workers will strain every nerve and show that all the fears entertained by the Government and their supporters were totally wrong. I promise that such act of self-restraint will take us many a mile towards our triple goal.

There should, therefore, be no *hartals*, no noisy demonstrations, no processions, I would regard the observance of perfect peace on my arrest as a mark of high honour paid to me by my countrymen. What I would love to see, however,

is the constructive work regularity and speed of the Punjab Express. I would love to see people who have hitherto kept back, voluntarily discarding all their foreign cloth and making bonfire of it. Let them fulfil the whole of the constructive programme framed at Bardoli, and they will not only release me and other prisoners, but they will also inaugurate Swaraj and secure redress of the Khilafat and Punjab wrong. Let them remember the four pillars of *Swaraj*— Non-violence, Hindu-Moslem-Sikh-Parsi-Christian-Jew unity, total removal of untouchability and manufacture of hand spun and hand woven khaddar completely displacing foreign cloth.

I do not know that my removal from their minds will not be a benefit to the people. In the first instance, the superstition about the possession of supernatural powers by me will be demolished. Secondly the belief that people have accepted the non-co-operation programme only under my influence and that they have no independent faith in it will be disproved. Thirdly our capacity for Swaraj will be proved by our ability to conduct our activities in spite of the withdrawal even of the originator of the current programme. Fourthly and selfishly, it will give me a quiet and physical rest, which perhaps I deserve.

Working Committee of Ahmedabad—17th and 18th March 1922

Resolution passed by the Working Committee at Ahmedabad on the 17th and 18th March 1922 :

2. The Working Committee congratulates the country upon the exemplary self-restraint and peace observed throughout the length and breadth of the land on and since the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi, and trusts that the same dignified restraint will be continued during the trying times to which the people must look forward.

Regarding Gandhi's arrest

The Working Committee is of opinion that observance of perfect peace in the country at this moment of supreme trial is a striking proof of the progress of non-violence and is further of opinion that Mahatma Gandhi's arrest and the restraint observed by the country have considerably advanced the cause of the Khilafat, the Punjab and Swaraj.

Constructive Programme

The Working Committee desires to make it clear that Mahatma Gandhi's arrest makes no change in the programme recently, laid down in the Bardoli-Delhi Resolutions and calls upon all Congress organisations to devote themselves to the prosecutions of the Constructive programme laid down therein. The Working Committee warns the Provincial Committees against any hasty use of the powers conferred upon them in respect of individual Civil Disobedience whether defensive or aggressive.

Spinning-wheel

The Working Committee regards the universal adoption of the spinning-wheel and of the consequent use of hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar as essential for the attainment of the country's goal and therefore urges all Congress and Khilafat organisations to prosecute the khaddar programme much more vigorously than hitherto.

Khaddar

In as much as the use of khaddar apart from its great and undoubted political value is bound to give to millions of India's homes a steady cottage industry heeded for the nation's spare hours and is calculated to supplement the slender resources of millions of half-starved poor people and is thus bound to establish a link between classes and masses, the Working Committee hopes that men and women of all parties and races inhabiting India irrespective of political colour will lend their hearty support and co-operation to the movement and to that end authorises Mia Mahomed Haji Jan Mahomed Chottani and Sjt. Jamnalal Bajaj to interview capitalists and others in order to put the growing national cottage industry on a sound economic basis.

Situation in Bombay after Mr. Gandhi's imprisonment from March 1922 to December 1922

There was a marked lull in the activities of the Congress workers in Bombay after the incarceration of Mr. Gandhi in March 1922.

On the 20th March 1922 the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee issued leaflets to the following effect:—

" Do not strike."

" Go to your work."

" Maintain peace."

" Use khadi."

" Boycott foreign cloth."

" Respect the Congress and Central Khilafat Committee's orders."

March 1922

On 21st, 22nd and 23rd March 1922 public meetings were held at Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall, Mandvi, and advising the men and women of Bombay to use khaddar and to carry out the other items of the Constructive programme. On 26th March at a public meeting held under the presidency of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the local speakers laid stress on the necessity of prosecuting the Khaddar programme. On 30th March a public meeting under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee was held when Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya delivered a lecture tracing the origin of the " National Week " and explained the necessity for its observance that year. He also advised the observance of a general and peaceful hartal on 13th April 1922 principally in collecting for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, recruiting members for the Congress and advocating the use of the charkha. On 2nd April another public meeting was held under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee when Mr. Vithalbhai J. Patel spoke on the "National Week". Mr. Patel suggested that as Mr. Gandhi was sentenced on the 18th, the 18th of every month should be treated as " Gandhi Day "—a day of sacrifice and prayer until Gandhi was released and that everyone should set aside, on each 18th, his income for that day as a contribution to the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

National Week—6th to 13th April 1922

The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee issued vernacular leaflets advising a peaceful *hartal*, on 13th April while the different District Congress Committees issued leaflets giving instructions as to how to observe the National Week. These instructions required the people to spread the Khaddar movement

and carry out the constructive programme as advised by Mr. Gandhi. Big pasters were posted up in vernacular at conspicuous places in the city to the following effect under the orders of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee:

The National Week

The indispensable condition of *Swaraj* :

1. " Non-killing peace."
2. " Unity among Hindus, Mahomedans, Sikhs, Parsis, Christian and Jews."
3. " Total removal of untouchability."
4. " Use of khaddar made of yarn spun on charkha instead of foreign cloth."

In connection with the celebration of the National Week in Bombay City about 21 meetings were held between the 4th and the 15th April 1922. At these meetings the constructive programme of the Congress was advocated.

Gandhi Day

The 18th of April 1922 being the first Gandhi Day, the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee issued instructions to the public to the following effect:—

" On Saturday the 18th March (1922) the Bureaucracy, Provincial consisting of Indian and Foreign Officers, sentenced our revered leader, Mahatma Gandhi, to six years' imprisonment for his services to the country. On the 18th April one month will have passed since Gandhi's incarceration. Would the people forget that day: Would the people forget Mahatma Gandhi: Indian subjects must consider that day of self-sacrifice. Everyone should express his love for him by contributing his income on the 18th to the Tilak Swaraj Fund."

Public meetings were held in Bombay to observe the day; but they aroused no enthusiasm or interest and the injunction to subscribe the day's income to the Tilak Swaraj Fund was almost completely ignored.

Bombay Provincial Liberal Conference—May 1922

On the 6th May 1922 the first Provincial Liberal Conference was held in Bombay at Sir Cowasjee Jehangir Hall under the presidency of the Right Honourable Sir Shrinivas Sastri. About 500 persons including 150 delegates attended. Prominent persons were Sir C. H. Setalvad, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Sir Ebrahim Rahimtulia, the Honourable Mr. P. C. Sethna, Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai M. Nilkant, the Honourable Mr. Paranjpe, the Honourable Mr. Goolamhussein, the Honourable M. Hidayatullah, Sir G. K. Parekh, Sir Lallubhai Samaldas, Sir Stanley Reed, N. M. Joshi, G. K. Deodhar, K. Natrajan, Jamnadas Dwarkadas and others:—

In the Subjects Committee of this Conference Natrajan proposed that they should express sympathy with Gandhi and request Government to give him special concessions in jail; but Sir Chimanlal Setalvad opposed and the proposal was lost. Natrajan thereupon absented himself from the Conference at the next days sitting.

During the month of May 1922 there was nothing of special interest except the holding of public meetings on Gandhi Day (18th May 1922) and the holding of the Mandvi Khadi and Swadeshi Exhibition on the 20th May 1922.

Khaddar Scheme adopted

The Working Committee of the Congress met at Bombay on 12th to 15th May 1922 and adopted a Khaddar Scheme in order to give effect to the Constructive programme.

June 1922

On June 7th, 8th and 9th 1922, the All-India Congress Committee met at Lucknow to consider the general political situation in the country. This meeting passed resolutions acknowledging Mr. Gandhi's services, asking the Congressmen to carry out the constructive programme to the fullest extent, and appointing a Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee to tour round the country and report on the situation.

Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee in Bombay—July 1922

The Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee visited Bombay on 17th July 1922. The Committee stayed in Bombay for three days and held its proceedings *in camera*. The following witnesses were examined in Bombay:—

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. K. Natrajan. | 11. M. Muhammad Mumtaz. |
| 2. Mathradas Tricumdas. | 12. U. K. Oza. |
| 3. K. Sanghani. | 13. H. Belgaumwalla. |
| 4. V A. Desai. | 14. Abdolhoosein Mithavirji. |
| 5. J. B. Patel. | 15. Mrs. A. Gokhale. |
| 6. M. M. Kovaji. | 16. Miss Perin Dadabhai Nowroji. |
| 7. Jethala Govindji. | 17. V. V. Jeranjani. |
| 8. C V. P. Shivam. | 18. M. Kuamar Ahmed, and |
| 9. P. G. Sahasrabudhe. | 19. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. |
| 10. Mansukhlal R. Mehta. | |

Out of these witnesses seven were of opinion that provinces or districts were not yet ready for Civil Disobedience in any form, three were in favour of immediate aggressive and defensive individual Civil Disobedience, one in favour of immediate individual defensive Civil Disobedience, one was against any form of Civil Disobedience on principle and seven gave no opinion regarding Civil Disobedience.

Twelve of these witnesses were against entry into Councils, one for entry into Councils for utilising Councils as they are, one for entry into Councils and running elections by individual efforts, and five gave no opinion either for or against.

Regarding boycott of courts by lawyers, one was for, two were against, and fifteen have no opinion.

Regarding boycott educational institutions, two were for, two were against, and fifteen gave no opinion.

Regarding boycott of British goods one was for, and eighteen gave no opinion.

Regarding Labour Organisations, no witnesses expressed any opinion.

18th July being the Gandhi Day the Bombay Provincial Congress'Committee organised processions from Chotani House to the Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall in honour of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Hakim Ajmal Khan. All the speakers advocated the use of khaddar.

Members of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee left Bombay for Poona on the 20th July 1922.

August 1922

On August 1st, the Tilak Anniversary Day was celebrated in Bombay. Joseph Baptista (who presided at the meeting held at the Gandherva Maha-Vidyalaya Hall). Jamnadas M. Mehta and Dr. M. B. Velkar proclaimed the failure of the Non-co-operation movement and argued on general lines that Tilak had been a wiser political leader than Gandhi. A mass meeting attended by 5,000 people was also held in celebration of the Second Anniversary of Tilak's death. The use of khaddar was advocated at this meeting as well as at two other small meetings held for the same purpose.

On the 18th August 1922 the 5th Gandhi Day was celebrated in the City. Two public meetings were held and adherence to the Non-co-operation programme was advocated. A few volunteers hawked khaddar on this day.

September 1922

In September 1922 in the course of the Ganapati celebrations the local political agitators addressed about nine meetings on *Swadeshi*, Non-co-operation, Khaddar, Council boycott, repression, jail experiences and the present situation.

Towards the end of September the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee arranged for the celebration of " Gandhi Week " in the city with a view to achieving satisfactory progress in the constructive work of the Congress. From 26th September to the 2nd October 1922 the Gandhi Week was celebrated by the different District Congress Committees by holding public meetings, organising processions and hawking khaddar. The people were advised to wear khaddar, spread national education and to work out the Bardoli programme so as to show Gandhi that they were real followers. The attendance at these meetings ranged from 100 to 2,000.

October 1922

In October 1922 an exhibition of Indian industries, art and khaddar was opened at Madhav Bagh. Mill made cloth was also allowed to be shown at the exhibition though originally meant exclusively for khaddar.

November 1922

At a public meeting held on November 14th in the Gandherva Mahavidyalaya Compound, Jamnadas M. Mehta condemned khadi and the charkha because he said " while the people were trying to economise a few thousand rupees by means of these Gandhi specifics, abstention from the Councils had led to the imposition of extra taxation which would never have been imposed had the Congress party been represented in the Councils. " At this meeting" Joseph Baptista ridiculed the idea that khaddar could bring Swaraj.

V. J. Patel, one of the signatories to the Civil Disobedience Committee's report (published in book form) admitted the failure of the triple boycott and said that they must enter the Councils and smash them, as it was the Councils that were ruining the Non-co-operation movement.

J. M. Mehta at a meeting on November 14th, said he had favoured Council-entry as long as September 1920. He condemned khadi and the charkha because, because, while the people were trying to economise a few thousand rupees by means of these Gandhi specifics, abstention from the Councils had led to the imposition of extra taxation which would never have been imposed had the Congress party been represented in the Councils.

D. V. Gokhale at the same meeting to questions, said that he was out for Swaraj whether by violence or non-violence, whether by co-operation or non-co-operation.

Joseph Baptista ridiculed the idea that Khaddar could bring Swaraj. Although he was a Christian and opposed to violence, he was quite sure that if nonviolence were dropped from their programme, the country would be prepared for Civil Disobedience almost at once. At the present time it was through the Councils and through the Councils alone that Government could be brought to their senses.

N. C. Kelkar in the meeting of November 15th began by denying the rumour that he had had an interview with the Governor. He went on to say that the triple boycott was a failure as he had always said it would be. He impressed on the audience the fact that the Councils were the centres of interest in the present administration. There and there only could grievances be ventilated.

V. J. Patel, one of the signatories to the Civil Disobedience Committee's report, defended the point of view of those members of the Committee who had advocated Council-entry. He admitted the failure of the triple boycott. It was the Councils that were ruining the non-co-operation movement. They must enter the Councils and smash them. They should capture not only Councils but also Local Boards and Municipalities and nationalise them. They should also organise dockers, telegraphist, railway servants and mill-hands into Trade Unions with a view to awakening political consciousness among the masses and mobilising them in the fight for Swaraj.

The internal disunion of the Central Khilafat Committee leaders has been very marked during the week. Chotani and Khatri did their best to get the Working Committee meeting at Calcutta postponed, but Moazzim Ali insisted on it being held on November 19th and 20th, and in this he was supported by Ansari who wired to Chotani that any further postponement would mean death to the movement. Another cause of discord was Abdul Bari's announcement that he could not support further collections for Angora or other Khilafat funds unless 16 lakhs, lying idle with the Central Khilafat Committee, were despatched to Angora. This announcement appeared in the *Aligarh Gazette*, which is a pro-Government paper. This gave Chotani a pretext for wiring to Abdul Bari suggesting that the statement was not correct. Abdul Bari has, however, not contradicted it.

Bombay, November 27th—Under the auspices of the Bombay National Home Rule League a public meeting of 400 persons was held at the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall, Fort, on November 21st when Jamnadas Dwarkadas spoke on the "Work before Us". H. P. Mody presided. The speaker advocated entry into the Councils.

On November 21st, 1922, a public meeting under the auspices of the National Home Rule League was held at Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall when H. P. Mody presided and Jamnadas Dwarkadas advocated entry into the Councils.

Towards the end of November the Congress workers in the city had succeeded in selling khaddar worth about Rs. 60,000.

On 20th November 1922 and the following four days the All-India Congress Committee met at Calcutta and passed resolutions accepting the report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee on the question of Civil Disobedience. It also resolved that the country was not prepared to embark upon Civil Disobedience, but in the event of a situation arising in any part of the country it authorised Provincial Committees to sanction limited Mass Civil Disobedience on their own responsibility if the necessary conditions laid down for Mass Civil Disobedience were fulfilled. The question of Council-entry was adjourned to the Gaya Congress.

December 1922

There was nothing of importance in December 1922 except the usual observance of the Gandhi Day and the sale of khaddar in Bombay,

In the last week of December the Congress workers left for the Gaya Congress.

Working Committee, Bombay—12th to 15th June 1922

Resolutions of the Working Committee held at Bombay on 12th to 15th May 1922.

That the following Khaddar Scheme be adopted by the Committee :—

The Working Committee resolves that in pursuance of the constructive programme now before the country, special efforts should be made by every province to stimulate the production and consumption of hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar on a sound organised basis.

With a view to help the provinces by way of loans and technical advice and to make available to each province the experience of other parts and to collect and disseminate useful information, the Working Committee resolves to entrust Seth Jamnalal Bajaj with the organisation of the special department for which the Committee sanctioned Rs. 17 lakhs.

Organisation of Khaddar Department

The department shall consist of three divisions:—

1. Technical instruction.
2. Production.
3. Sale.

Technical instruction will be provided for at the Sabarmati Ashram under the direction of Mr. Maganlal Gandhi. Every province will be invited to send two or three students each to this institute for a six months' course, to be trained in all the processes of Khadi production. Students trained in this institute will be engaged for the organisation of khadi centres or similar training institutes in their respective provinces.

The Department of Production will aim at the co-ordination of interprovincial work and the standardisation of yarn or cloth. The department will not ordinarily interfere with the administration of local organisations. Mr. Lakhmidas Purshottam will direct the department with the help of a staff of travelling inspectors.

The Sales Department will open Khadi Stores in some select centres where Provincial Congress Committees are unable to provide adequate facilities for consumers. Mr. Vithaldas Jerajani will be in charge of this department.

Seth Jamnalal Bajaj will be responsible for the co-ordination of the department and general propaganda work. He will be solely responsible for the administration of finances.

All applications for loans shall be forwarded by the provinces to Seth Jamnalal who will submit them to the working Committee for disposal with his own recommendations, provided that in case of emergency Seth Jamnalal may grant loans not exceeding Rupees five thousand in anticipation of the Working Committee's sanction.

In deciding applications for loans the Working Committee shall keep in view both the requirements of provinces and the extent of investments in khadi in order to stimulate local efforts and help deserving cases.

	Budget		
Technical instruction	25,000	0	0
Sales Department	2,00,000	0	0
Production Department Office	20,000	0	0
Propaganda, Information Bureau	1,00,000	0	0
Loans to provinces	13,55,000	0	0

Summary of proceedings of the All-India Congress Committee which met at Lucknow on June 7th, 8th and 9th 1922 :—

Hakim Ajmal Khan was in the chair. The chairman in opening the proceedings reviewed the general political situation and congratulated the country on the preservation of perfect non-violence in spite of the grave provocation due to the arrest and incarceration of Mahatma Gandhi. He laid stress on the necessity for cordial relations between the different communities and parties and appealed for unity.

The following resolutions were passed:—

I. The All-India Congress Committee in its first meeting after the im-prisonment of Mahatma Gandhi places on record his services to the cause of humanity by his message of peace and truth and reiterates its faith in the principle of Non-violent Non-co-operation inaugurated by him for the enforcement of the rights of the people of India.

II. * * * * *

III. * * * *

IV. This Committee hereby appoints a Committee consisting of Swami Shradhanand, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Messrs. G. B. Deshpande and I. K. Yajnik to formulate a scheme embodying practical measures to be adopted for bettering the condition of the so-called "Untouchables" throughout the country, and place it for consideration before the next meeting of the Working Committee. The amount to be raised for the scheme should be 5 lakhs for the present.

* * * *

V.This Committee, records its satisfaction that although, inspite of the of suspension of all aggressive activities by the Congress Committees, repression in a most severe form has been resorted to by the Governments in several parts of the country, the spirit of the Congress workers has not been daunted and the constructive programme laid down by the Committee is being loyally carried out at great sacrifice in every province.

The Committee has taken note of the wide-spread feeling that in view of the extremely unfair manner in which the policy of repression is being carried out by the Government the country should be advised to resort to some form of Civil Disobedience to compel the Government to abandon their present policy and to agree to concede the triple demand and of the Congress. But the Committee is of opinion that the carrying out of the constructive programme will be the best preparation for even mass civil disobedience while it will also be the most effective means of furthering the objects of the Congress. The Committee therefore earnestly appeals to the country to concentrate all its efforts upon carrying out the constructive programme to the fullest extent and to endeavour to complete it within the shortest period possible.

That the further consideration of the question that whether civil disobedience in some form or some other measure of a similar character should be adopted, should be taken up at the next meeting of the Committee to be held at Calcutta on the 15th of August next.

That in the meantime the President be requested to nominate and authorize a few gentlemen to tour round the country and report on the situation to the next meeting.

Note.-This resolution does not in any way affect the resolution passed at Delhi on the 25th February last.

Civil Dis-
obedience
Committee. The President, Hakim Ajmal Khan, in consultation with the members of the Working Committee, nominated himself and the following gentlemen on the Committee to tour round the country and report on the situation:—

- 1. Pandit Motilal Nehru.
- 2. Dr. M. A. Ansari.
- 3. Syt. V. J. Patel.
- 4. Seth Jamnalal Bajaj.
- 5. Syt. C. Rajagopalachari.
- 6. Seth M. M. H. J. M. Chotani.

Hakim Ajmal Khan being the Acting President of the Congress was the *ex-officio* chairman of the Committee. Seth Jamnalal could not accept the offer owing to his pre-occupation with the All-India Khaddar Work Scheme. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was asked to take his place but owing to ill-health she was prevented from doing so. The chairman then invited Syt. S. Kasturiranga Iyenger who agreed and joined the Comma tee at Jubbulpore. Seth Chotani was unable to join in the tour or take part in the meetings of the Committee.

Resolutions passed by the All-India Congress Committee on 20th, 21st, 22nd 23rd and 24th November 1922 at Calcutta

I. This Committee accepts the report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee on the question of Civil Disobedience, and resolves (a) that the country is not prepared at present to embark upon general mass civil disobedience, but in view of the fact that a situation may arise in any part of the country demanding an immediate resort to mass civil disobedience of a limited character, for which the people are ready, as, for example, the breaking of a particular law or order or the non-payment of a particular tax, this Committee authorises Provincial Committees to sanction such limited mass civil disobe-dience on their responsibility if the conditions laid down for mass civil disobedience by this Committee in its resolution No. 2, dated the 4th November 1921 are fulfilled; (b) that resolution No. 2 passed by this Committee at Delhi on the 4th November which gives Provincial Congress Committees all the powers necessary to determine upon a reson to Civil Disobedience of any kind whatever be resorted, and resolution 1, clause I, passed on the 24th February to the extent it conflicts with that resolution be cancelled provided that general mass civil disobedience is not permissible.

II. That the further consideration of the question whether Congressmen should or should not contest the next elections, be adjourned and the same be taken up at the Gaya Congress.

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|------|---|---|---|---|
| III. | * | * | * | * |
| IV. | * | * | * | * |

<p>V. This Committee places on record its grateful appreciation of the services rendered to the nation during the critical juncture in its affairs by the members of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee.</p>	<p>of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry who have discharged their duties with devotion, with Committee untiring energy and at a sacrifice hard to appraise.</p>
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<p>VI.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">* * * * *</p>
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Gaya Congress— December 1922

The year 1922 closed with the Session of the Congress at Gaya in the last week of December. It may be remembered that there were sharp differences among Congressmen over the questions of Council-entry and Civil Disobedience. Even the Civil Disobedience Committer was not unanimous on the question of Council-entry. It was, however, unanimous in holding that the country was not then prepared to undertake general mass civil disobedience or a general no-tax campaign in any province or district ; but in view of the fact that a situation might arise in any part of the country demanding an immediate resort to mass civil disobedience of a limited character such as the breaking of a particular law or non-payment of a particular tax for which the people were ready, the Provincial Committers were authorised to sanction such limited mass civil disobedience on their own responsibility if the conditions laid down by the All-India Congress Committee in respect of non-violence, etc., were fulfilled. Such being the opinion of the Civil Disobedience Committee the Congress was left to decide upon a definite programme for the next year, namely, 1923. The Session of the Congress at Gaya was held under the presidency of C. R. Das. The President of the Congress spoke strongly in favour of entry into the Councils for the purpose of wrecking them from within, but the Congress refused to depart from the former programme. On the question of Council-entry all attempts at a compromise proved futile and the Congress once more resolved that no Congressman should stand as candidate for any of the Reformed Councils and that all voters should abstain from voting for any candidate offering himself for election in disregard of the Congress advice. The resolution, accepting the recommendations of the Civil Disobedience Committee on the subject of the boycott of British goods, was thrown out and resolutions, reaffirming the boycott of Government educational institutions and the Law Courts,' ere accepted despite emphatic protests about their futility. The Civil Disobedience policy was reaffirmed and the Congress called upon all Congress workers to complete the preparations for offering Civil Disobedience by strengthening and expanding the National Organisation and to take immediate steps for—

- (1) The collection of at least Rs. 2 lakhs for the Tilak Swaraj Fund and
- (2) The enrolment of at least 50,000 volunteers satisfying the conditions of the Ahmedabad Pledge.

The Congress did not fail to place on record its grateful appreciation of the services of Mr. Gandhi to the cause of India and humanity by his message of Peace and Truth, and to reiterate its faith in the principle of Non-violent Non-co-operation inaugurated by him for the enforcement of the rights of the people of India.

In closing the Session, the President Mr. C. R. Das made his position clear by announcing the formation of a party within the Congress under his own leadership to work for the Non-co-ops ration programme within the Councils. This party commonly known as the " Swaraj Party " came into being in the early months of the year 1923.

Creation of two Parties within the Congress

It will thus be seen that the net result of the Gaya Congress decisions was the creation of two parties within the Congress. One of them, known commonly as the Pro-change Party, was formed under the leadership of C. R. Das backed up by Pandit Motilal Nehru, Vithalbhai J. Patel, M. R. Jaykar, Hakim Ajmal Khan and others coming under the category of the "intelligentia" of the country. This party was bent upon entering Councils with the ostensible object of wrecking them from within and obstructing the work of the Legislatures at every stage and at every step in spite of the fact that Mr. Gandhi had strongly expressed himself in the past against Council-entry. The other party, known as the No-change Party, was composed of staunch Gandhi-ites who were determined to adhere to the Congress programme as rigidly as possible and to carry out Gandhi's programme at any cost and without regard to its success or failure. In this party were included staunch Congress workers such as C. Rajagopal-chariar, Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Dr. Ansari, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Khadilkar and the Ali Brothers.

This being the position of the Congress and the country after the Gaya Session, each of the above named parties worked in its own way so as to suit the aims and objects of its own party. To this end the No-change Party exerted itself to collect rupees 25 lakhs for the Tilak Swaraj Fund and to enrol at least fifty thousand volunteers in the course of a few months, as demanded by the Gaya Congress, whereas the Pro-change Party or the Swaraj Party tried its level best to create public opinion in favour of Council-entry within that period. Thus the agitation of both these parties commenced simultaneously in two different directions from the beginning of 1923.

In general, political agitation in the city in 1923 centred round the following questions:—

1. The question of fulfilling by Congress workers of the Gaya Congress programme, viz., collection of rupees 25 lakhs and enrolment of fifty thousand volunteers in addition to the enrolment of Congress members, propagation of *khaddar* and removal of untouchability.
2. The formation, growth and development of the Swaraj Party and its campaign for Council elections.
3. The formation, growth and development of the Nationalist Municipal Party and its campaign for Bombay Municipal elections and protest against giving an address to the outgoing Governor of Bombay.
4. All-India Congress Committee meeting in Bombay in May 1923, to effect a compromise between the two parties of the Congress.
5. The Special Session of the Congress at Delhi in September 1923.
6. Nagpur Flag Satyagraha.
7. Nabha abdication.
8. Visapur jail scandal.
9. Kenya question and the boycott of foreign cloth.
10. Demands for the release of political prisoners.
11. Utilisation of Ganpati celebrations for political purposes.
12. Volunteer organisation, Civic Guards Corps.
13. Gandhi-day observance and demand for Gandhi's release.
14. Cow protection.
15. Inter-communal amity.
16. Akalis and the Congress sympath.

Gaya Congress Programme

With regard to the item of carrying out the Gaya Congress Programme the No-changers held about 32 meetings in Bombay from January 1923 to the end of April 1923 and appealed to the people to act up to the Congress programme. The result was that only Rs. 25,516 were collected for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, 13,750 Congress members were enlisted, 112 volunteers were enrolled for civil disobedience, and *khaddar* worth about Rs. 1,56,400 was sold. This result was very poor in view of the fact that Bombay's quota was six lakhs of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund and 2,000 volunteers for Civil Disobedience. With regard to the question of the removal of untouchability some show was made on 11th March 1923, when a small inter-communal dinner was arranged by Jayakar and Natrajan in order to dispel the idea of untouchability. On 27th May 1923 a temple for the untouchables was opened at Valpakhadi by Mrs. Naidu.

Swaraj Party

Under instructions received from C. R. Das Messrs. Jayakar & Jamnadas Mehta took up the work of forming the Branch of the Swaraj Party in Bombay towards the end of March 1923 and during the course of the next two months they were able to enlist about 200 members for the Party. Copies of the constitution and programme of the Swaraj Party were distributed to the public and public meetings were held with a view to creating public opinion in favour of the Swaraj Party. C. R. Das visited Bombay in May and on the 27th lectured on the aims and objects of the Party. In the month of July, however, there arose differences between Jayakar and Natrajan on one side and V. J. Patel and Jamnadas Mehta on the other with the result that Jayakar and Natrajan resigned and Patel and Jamnadas Mehta thereafter took up the work of the Swaraj Party. In the month of September Patel held a general meeting of the Party and appointed new office-bearers of the Party. In the same month an official list of candidates of the Party for the Bombay Council and Legislative Assembly was issued. In October and November the Swaraj Party under the leadership of V. J. Patel started a vigorous campaign for election to the Reformed Councils. About 35 meetings were held between the 3rd October and 14th November 1923, and the people were advised to vote for the Swaraj Party candidates only. The successes and failures of the Non co-operators at the elections have been detailed on pages 107 and 108.

Nationalist Municipal Party

The origin of the Nationalist Municipal Party in Bombay can be traced to the efforts of Vithalbhai J. Patel, Jamnadas Mehta and B. N. Motiwalla ever since the incarceration of Mr. Gandhi in March 1922. These people were determined since then to capture the Bombay Municipality and to this end in the month of June 1922 they convened a public meeting in Bombay and formed the Bombay Municipal Nationalist Party. In the month of October 1922 a list of the Nationalist candidates desirous of contesting Municipal elections was issued by the Secretary of the Party. On 23rd October 1922 candidates from the different wards of the city were elected to contest the Municipal elections. A number of meetings were held in January 1923, asking the people to support the Nationalist candidates and as a result of their efforts about 42 Nationalists succeeded in the elections which came off on 29th January 1923. The most important activities of the Nationalist Municipal Party were in connection with their protests against voting an address to Sir George Lloyd in the last quarter of the year 1923. In spite of their protests the Bombay Corporation was able to pass, by a majority, a resolution voting an address to the incoming and outgoing Governors. The result was that the Nationalist members of the Corporation did not attend the functions held by the Corporation on the arrival

of the new Governor and on the departure of the outgoing Governor. They further held protest meetings on Chowpatty sands and at other places on the days previous to the departure of His Excellency and condemned his administration. In the beginning of April 1924, Vithalbhai J. Patel succeeded in being elected as President of the Bombay Municipal Corporation and K. F. Nariman was appointed leader of the Nationalist Municipal Party. During his regime as President of the Corporation he managed to present the Corporation address to Mr. Gandhi on 29th August 1924. In December 1924 he boycotted the Viceregal functions in spite of the resolution of the Corporation asking him to attend the functions. This resulted in his resignation as the President of the Corporation.

All-India Congress Committee, Bombay

As a result of the tug-of-war going on between the Pro-change party and the No-change party it was thought necessary by the Congress workers to convene a meeting in Bombay of the All-India Congress Committee in May 1923, to effect a compromise. This meeting was held on the 25th, 26th, 27th and 28th May in Bombay under the presidency of C. R. Das. After a lot of discussion the All-India Congress Committee passed a resolution directing that no propaganda be carried on amongst voters in terms of the resolution of the Gaya Congress regarding Council-entry. This annoyed the no-changers, and C. Rajagopalachariar, Vallabhbhai Patel and four other members of the Congress Working Committee resigned. A new Working Committee had to be appointed and another resolution for convening the Special Session of the Congress in September 1923 at Delhi was passed.

Special Session of the Congress at Delhi

The Special Session of the Congress at Delhi was held on 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th September 1923. The important resolution passed at this Special Congress was on the question of Council-entry. A compromise was arrived at and it was resolved to suspend all propaganda against Council-entry and to allow those Congressmen who had no religious or other conscientious objections to stand as candidates for the Reformed Councils. The Special Congress also passed resolutions regarding (1) Civil Disobedience, (2) Civic Guards Corps, (3) Nabha Abdication, (4) Nagpur Satyagraha, (5) Kenya, etc.

Nagpur Flag Satyagraha

The effects of the Nagpur Flag Satyagraha movement were noticeable in Bombay from the 20th May 1923. Support was first lent to the movement made by the "G" Ward District Congress Committee. Later on the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee took up this question and decided to send volunteers from Bombay. The first batch of six volunteers went to Nagpur on 15th June 1923. In the meantime the news of the arrest of Jamnalal Bajaj was received in Bombay and in consequence five more batches were sent up. On July 18th a flag-day was observed in Bombay in accordance with an appeal made by Dr. Ansari at the Nagpur Congress Committee meeting held on July 7. Two processions were organised on this day. One was taken out in the morning and the other in the evening. About 1,500 people took part in the morning procession whilst 5,000 people including 500 ladies participated in the evening procession. The processionists carried National Flags. About 44 persons from Bombay took part in the Nagpur struggle. The movement stopped in Bombay on August 18, 1923, when Vithalbhai J. Patel announced the end of the Nagpur Satyagraha.

Kenya Question

The next important agitation in Bombay that took place in the months of August and September 1923 was in connection with the Kenya question. The Working Committee of the Congress held at Vizagapattam and subsequently at Nagpur in the beginning of 1923, resolved that the whole of India should observe a peaceful hartal on the 20th August 1923 on account of the injustice of the British Government with regard to Kenya. The *Bombay Chronicle* of the 4th August 1923 published the above resolution and the same day the Swaraj Party held a meeting in Bombay condemning the Kenya decision. On the 24th August the Kenya Deputation to England, consisting of Mr. Shastri, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, M. A. Desai, G. S. Khaparde, and M. A. Jinnah arrived in Bombay and the Kenya question became the chief topic of the day. The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee arranged for a Hartal on the 27th (instead of the 26th) August 1923, but it was only, very partially observed. Public meetings of protest were held by the Swaraj Party, the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, and even by the Moderates of the city. The boycott of foreign goods as a retaliatory measure was suggested at a public meeting held on 3rd September. The Special Session of the Congress held at Delhi in the middle of September shelved the question of the boycott of foreign goods by appointing a Committee to draft a report on the subject. This draft report appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 19th December 1923 and it was in due course submitted to the Congress at Cocanada in December 1923. The Cocanada Congress, however, took no action on this report and passed a resolution authorising Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and George Joseph to attend the forthcoming Indian Congress in Kenya and after studying the situation advise the Indian community there as to how to carry on the struggle against the injustice.

Volunteer Organisation

With regard to the volunteer movement in the city a meeting of about 40 volunteers was held on 28th October 1923 at the Congress office. At this meeting Dr. Hardikar's Scheme to organise an All-India Volunteers Conference to be held in December 1923, at the time of the Cocanada Congress was considered. It was agreed at this meeting to hold the Bombay Provincial Volunteer Conference. This was held on December 2nd at the Congress office under the presidency of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. Eleven delegates to the All-India Volunteer Conference at Cocanada were elected by the Conference.

The agitation in respect of other questions such as the Nabha abdication, Visapur jail scandal, demand for release of political prisoners, cow protection, inter-communal amity, Akalis, etc., was of a minor character.

The year 1923 closed with the Session of the Indian National Congress at Cocanada in December 1923 (last week) (the results of which have been dealt with in Part V).

GAYA CONGRESS 1922

Gaya Congress, December 1922

The 37th ordinary session of the Indian National Congress was held in Gaya on 26th, 27th, 29th, 30th and 31st December 1922. Sjt. Babu Brajkishore Prasad was Chairman of the Reception Committee and Deshbandhu C. R. Das was the President of the Session.

The following resolutions were passed by the Congress:

1. This Congress places on records its deep sense of the loss sustained by the late Babu the country in the death of Babu Motilal Ghose and offers Motilal Ghose its condolence to his family.

The Congress has learnt with grief of the death of Babu Ambikacharan Mozumdar, one of its ex-Presidents, and places on record Ambikacharan its deep sense of the loss sustained thereby by the country.

The late Babu
Ambikacharan
mozumdar

II. This Congress places on record its grateful appreciation of the services of Mahatma Gandhi to the cause of India and humanity by his message of Peace and Truth, and reiterates its faith in the principle of non-violent non-co-operation inaugurated by him for the enforcement of the rights of the people of India.

Tribute to
Mahatma
Gandhi.

III. *To sufferers.*—The Congress places on record its profound appreciation of the services rendered to the national cause by all those brave citizens who have suffered in pursuance of the programme of voluntary suffering and who in accordance with the Congress advice, without offering any defence or bail served, or are serving various periods of imprisonment and calls upon the nation to keep alive this spirit of sacrifice and to maintain unbroken the struggle for freedom.

IV. *Akali Martyrs.*—This Congress records with pride and admiration its appreciation of the unexampled bravery of the Akali martyrs and the great noble example of non-violence set by them for the benefit of the whole nation.

V. *Congratulation to the Turks.*—This Congress congratulates Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the Turkish nation on their recent successes and further records the determination of the people of India to carry on the struggle till the British Government has done all in its power and removed all its own obstacles to the restoration of the Turkish nation to free and independent status and the conditions necessary for unhampered national life and effective guardianship of Islam and the Jazirat-ul-Arab freed from all non-Muslim control.

VI. *Boycott of Councils.*—Whereas the boycott of the Councils carried out during the elections held in 1920 has destroyed the moral strength of the institutions through which Government sought to consolidate its power and carry on its irresponsible rule.

And whereas it is necessary again for the people of India to withhold participation in the elections of the next year as an essential programme of non-violent non-co-operation.

This Congress resolves to advise that all voters shall abstain from standing as candidates for any of the Councils and from voting for any candidate offering himself as such as in disregard of the advice and to signify the abstention in such manner as the All-India Congress Committee may instruct in that behalf.

VII. *Repudiation of Government loans.*—Whereas by reason of unjustifiable military expenditure and other extravagance the Government has brought the national indebtedness to a limit beyond recovery and whereas the Government still pursues the same policy of extravagance under cover of the authority of the so-called representative assemblies constituted without the suffrage of majority of any substantial fraction of the voters and despite their declared repudiation of the authority of such assemblies to represent the people.

And whereas if the Government is permitted to continue this policy, it will become impossible for the people of India ever to carry on their own affairs with due regard to the honour and happiness of the people and it has therefore become necessary to stop the career of irresponsibility.

This Congress hereby repudiates the authority of the legislatures that have been or may be framed by the Government in spite of the national boycott of the said institutions in future to raise any loans or to incur any liabilities on

behalf of the nation, and notifies to the world that on the attainment of Swarajya the people of India though holding themselves liable for all debts and liabilities rightly or wrongly incurred hitherto by the Government will not hold themselves bound to repay any loans or discharge any liabilities incurred on and after this date on the authority or sanction of the so-called legislatures brought into existence in spite of the national boycott.

VIII. *Civil disobedience*.—This Congress reaffirms its opinion that civil disobedience is the only civilised and effective substitute for an armed rebellion when every other remedy for preventing the arbitrary, tyrannical and emasculating use of authority has been tried.

And in view of the widespread awakening of the people to a sense of the urgent need for Swarajya and the general demand and necessity for Civil Disobedience in order that the national goal may be speedily attained and in view of the fact that the necessary atmosphere of non-violence has been preserved in spite of all provocations.

This Congress calls upon all Congress workers to complete the preparations for offering civil disobedience by strengthening and expanding the national organisations and to take immediate step for the collection of at least rupees 25 lakhs for the Tilak Swarajya Fund and the enrolment of at least 50,000 volunteers satisfying the conditions of the Ahmedabad Pledge by a date (30th April 1923) to be fixed by the All-India Congress Committee at Gaya; and empowers the Committee to issue necessary instructions for carrying this resolution into practical effect.

IX. *The Turkish Situation*.—In view of the serious situation in the Near East which threatens the integrity of the Chiflat and the Turkish Government and in view of the determination of the Hindus, Mussalmans and all other peoples of India to prevent any such injury, this Congress resolves that the Working Committee do take steps in consultation with Khilafat Working Committee in order to secure united action by the Hindus, Mussalmans and others to prevent exploitation of India for any such unjust cause and to deal with the situation.

X. *Boycott of Educational Institution* —With reference to the boycott of Government and Government aided and affiliated educational institutions, this Congress declares that the boycott must be maintained and further resolves that every province should be called upon to put the existing national institutions on a sound financial basis and to improve their efficiency in every possible way.

XI. *Boycott of Law Courts*.—This Congress declares that the boycott of law courts by lawyers and litigants must be maintained and further resolves that greater efforts should be made to establish Panchayats and to cultivate public opinion in their favour.

XII. *Right of private defence*.—This Congress declares that non-co-operators are free to exercise the right of private defence within the limits defined by law except when carrying on Congress work or on occasions directly arising there from, subject always to the condition that it is not likely to lead to a general outburst of violence.

Note.—Using force in private defence in gross cases, e.g., insult to religion, outrages on the modesty of women or indecent assault on boys and men is not prohibited under any circumstances.

XIII. *Labour Organisations*.—Whereas the Congress is of opinion that Indian labour should be organised with a view to improve and promote their well-being and secure to them their just rights and also to prevent exploitation of Indian labour and of Indian resources, it is resolved that this Congress, while welcoming the move made by the All-India Trade Union Congress and various

Kisam Sabhas in organising the workers of India, hereby appoints the following Committee, with power to co-opt, to assist the Executive Council of the All India Trade Union Congress for the organisation of Indian labour, both agricultural and industrial:—

1. C. F. Andrews.
2. J. M. Sen Gupta.
3. S. N. Haldar.
4. Swami Dinanath.
5. Dr. D. D. Sathaye.
6. M. Singaravelu Chettiar.

XIV. *Affiliations*.—This Congress resolves that the Natal Indian Congress Committee, Durban, the British Indian Association, Johannesburg, the British Indian League, Capetown, and the Joint Indian Association, Durban be affiliated with power to send 10 delegates—this number to be allotted amongst themselves by agreement to be reported to the All-India Congress Committee.

This Congress resolves that the Kabul Congress Committee be affiliated, with power to send two delegates.

XV. This Congress places on record its grateful thanks for the valuable services rendered by the out-going General Secretaries, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. M. A. Ansari and C. Rajagopalachariar.

Outgoing
General
Secretaries.

This Congress appoints M. Moazzani Ali, Sjt. Vallabhbhai J. Patel and Sit. Rajendra Prasad as General Secretaries for the next year.

XVI. This Congress reappoints Seta amnalal Bajaj and Seth M. M. H. J. M. Chotani as Treasurers treasurers.

XVII. This Congress resolves that its next Sessions be held in Andhra Next Congress. Desha.

(Chronological narrative of the events during the year 1923 after the Gaya Congress)

Bombay after the Gaya Congress—January 1923

On 4th January 1923 a public meeting was held at Mandvi when Vallabhbhai J. Patel and Dr. Chandulal M. Desai of Broach spoke on the subject of the Gaya Congress before an audience of 400 persons. Vallabhbhai J. Patel said he very much regretted the waste of time at Gaya disputing about Council-entry. The country, he said, should stick to Gandhi's programme and not be misled into side issues. He added that even renowned leaders like C. R. Das had failed to win over people to Council(-entry). He finally appealed to the people to respond to the call of rupees 25 lakhs and 50,000 volunteers.

On January 14 a meeting of about 200 people was held at Matunga when Mrs. Naidu, Dr. Savarkar and C. V. P. Shivam exhorted the audience to collect men and money demanded by the Gaya Congress.

On January 18, two meetings were held in celebration of Gandhi Day. About 100 and 35 people respectively attended and the local Congress workers exhorted them to carry out the Congress programme.

On January 19, three meetings were held in Bombay when the local Congress workers favouring the capture of Municipalities and Local Boards spoke in support of the *Nationalist Party standing for Bombay Municipal Elections in the City*.

On January 20 and 21 three meetings were held in the city in support of the Nationalist candidates standing for Municipal elections.

On January 29, N. C. Kelkar, N. S. Paranjpye and Barrister Abbyankar addressed a public meeting of 300 Tilakites when Kelkar pointed out that if the people saw no objection to voting for the Municipal candidates, there was no reason why they should not vote for Nationalists for the Councils and added that the Congress triple boycott was a failure and that it would be foolish not to change their tactics to suit the occasion in order to bring them nearer to their ideal of *Swaraj*.

On January 29, another public meeting was held under the presidency of Mr. M. R. Jayakar. About 1,000 people, mostly Tilakites, attended and Jayakar, Babu Bhagwandas, Satyamurti and others criticised the resolutions of the Gaya Congress and advocated the views of the Das Party (Swaraj Party).

On January 31, the no-changers such as Khadilkar, T. Prakasham, Rajendra Prasad and G. B. Deshpande addressed an audience of 600 at Dadar and appealed to them to carry out the Gaya Congress programme.

Congress Working Committee, Bombay

The Congress Working Committee met in Bombay on January 29 and the following 5 days and the following resolutions were passed :—

(1) Asking the country to observe 18th March 1923 as the anniversary of Mr. Gandhi's incarceration and to organise peaceful Hartal on this day.

(2) Sympathising with Indian affairs in East and South Africa.

(3) Appointing Dr. Sathaye as convener of the Labour Sub-Committee of the Congress.

(4) Asking for reports from various Provinces in connection with the Congress Resolutions.

(5) Congratulating the people of Lahore on their decision to have the Lawrence Statue removed.

(6) Accepting the offer of two lakhs for having central place for Congress records etc.

(7) Appointing a deputation to tour the country to educate the people on the Congress programme, and

(8) Adopting the scheme of khaddar prepared by Jamnalal Bajaj and sanctioning rupees three lakhs for the purpose.

February 1923

On 1st February 1923 and the following two days, 3 public meetings were held when the no-changers advised the people to carry out the Congress Programme.

On 4th February 1923 a public meeting in honour of C. R. Das was addressed by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, K. F. Nariman and B. F. Bharucha. About 400 persons attended and speeches were made eulogising the sacrifices of C. R. Das.

On the 5th February 1923 a public meeting at Mandvi attended by 1,500 persons was held. C. R. Das paid superficial tribute to the Non-co-operation movement while minimising its success and effectiveness. Swami Satyadeo warned the audience against contributing men and money in response to the appeals made by the no-change party. This provoked cries of "Shame Shame" and there was confusion until Vithalbhai J. Patel advised them to listen to the lecture patiently.

On the 6th February 1923 a public meeting attended by about 1,000 persons was held at Mandvi when Mrs. Naidu presided and speeches were made by Vallabhbhai J. Patel and Jamnalal Bajaj ;and Nanalal Upadhya appealing to the people to respond to the Congress demand for men and money.

On 7th February 1923 the *Bombay Chronicle* announced the following amounts contributed to the Tilak Swaraj Fund :—

Rs. 1,01,000 by Hiralal Kariwall.

Rs. 5,100 by a Calcutta friend of Jamnalal Bajaj.

Rs. 11,000 by Dulichand and others collected by Jamnalal Bajaj.

Rs. 15,000 by Shankerlal Banker.

On the 18th February 1923 Gandhi Day was observed by holding a small meeting of 200 members of the Depressed Classes and by organising a small procession of 25 volunteers at Dadar for the collection of Tilak Swaraj Fund. People were exhorted to remove the ban of untouchability and to collect Tilak Swaraj Fund. Rs. 91-2-6 were collected on this day.

March 1923

On the 8th March 1923 a public meeting attended by 250 people was held at Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall when Vithalbhai J. Patel spoke on the need for completing the Constructive programme of Bardoli.

Khaddar Exhibition

On March 11th, Dr. P. C. Roy opened the Khaddar Exhibition at the Asoka Stores before a gathering of 200 people. He said that he was convinced that in Khaddar lay the salvation of India. He also appealed to the people to take a vow to use Khaddar in the name of Gandhi. Mrs. Naidu praised Jayakar and Natrajan for having arranged an inter-communal dinner that morning in order to dispel Untouchability. Hakim Ajmal Khan spoke on unity and national education.

Gandhi Week

The *Gandhi Incarceration Week* commenced on the 10th March and ended on the 18th March. In celebration of this week seven meetings were held, at which the local Congressmen advocated the use of Khaddar. Very little effort was directed towards collecting the Tilak Swaraj Fund or enrolling members and volunteers for Civil Disobedience. The special feature of the week was the All-India Khadi Exhibition at the Asoka Stores. Outside sales were stopped so as to localise interest in the exhibition.

Hartal—March 18th

In spite of appeals to the public by leaders from the platform and the press, the *Hartal* on March 18th was *very half-heartedly* observed. On this day the following processions were organised which passed off peacefully:—

(1) 50 persons from Worli to Mahim.

(2) 75 persons from Suparibaugh Road to Arthur Road and back.

(3) 5,000 persons from Chaupati to Madhav Baugh where the number fell away to about 1,000.

During this week on March 14th the Lalit Kala Darshak Natak Mandli gave a benefit performance of a Marathi play in aid of the Tilak Swaraj Fund Rs. 3,000 were realised.

On March 31st another benefit performance was given in aid of the National Medical College by the Maharashtra Natak Mandli. Rs. 500 were realised.

Swaraj Party

On March 25th, about two dozen Liberals and Moderates were present at a meeting convened by M. R. Jayakar and J. M. Mehta to form a branch of the New Party (Swaraj Party) and presided over by K. Natrajan. The majority of those present were in favour of postponing all discussion regarding the formation of a branch until 30th April 1923, when the period allowed to the No-change Party to raise 50,000 volunteers and rupees 25 lakhs would end. There were also differences as to whether the members of the new Swaraj Party should be required to sign the Congress Creed. Further discussion was post-poned to April 30th, 1923.

National Week—April 1923

The National Week was observed from 6th to 13th April. Twelve meetings were held during the week. People were advised to carry out the constructive programme. A Khaddar exhibition was opened on the 6th April and continued up to the end of the week. The Congress deputation, consisting of Raja-gopalachariar, Rajendra Prasad and Devidas Gandhi, visited Bombay on the 13th and attended the ladies' meeting held that day and appealed to the ladies to collect ten lakhs within the next fortnight. Rs. 1,000 were collected during the week for the Tilak Swaraj Fund by the Mandvi workers.

Congress Employment Bureau Bombay

In pursuance of the resolution of the Working Committee held in Bombay towards the end of January 1923 a *Congress Employment Bureau* was formed with a view to assisting non-co-operating young men in securing service. In the *Bombay Chronicle* of 6th April 1923, the Firms, Companies and Pedhis and other bodies, which were in sympathy with the Congress movement, were requested to assist the Bureau by informing them of vacancies whenever they occurred. Mathuradas Tricumji was the secretary of the Bureau. No noticeable progress was made by this Bureau throughout the year.

M. R. Jayakar and Jamnadas Mehta appointed:—

- 1. Purshottam Tricumdas.
- 2. J. K. Mehta, and
- 3. A. G. Mulgaonkar.

as secretaries of the Bombay Branch of the Swaraj Party in the last week of April 1923.

On 18th April a public meeting was held under the presidency of the Honourable Mr. P. C. Sethna when resolutions protesting against the doubling of the salt tax were passed.

Enrolment of Volunteers

The number of volunteers enrolled in She city in pursuance of the Gaya Congress resolutions towards the end of April 1923 was as follows :—

'A' Ward		3+8=11
'B' Ward		27
'C' Ward		9
'D' Ward		35
'E' Ward		1
'F' Ward		6 and
'G' Ward		23
	Total	112

The Bombay Secret Abstract ,

On April 27th, an informal meeting of the members of the Swaraj Party, Bombay and those of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee was held in the office of K. Natrajan. It was decided by the Swaraj Party after fruitless" discussion with Bombay Provincial Congress Committee to carry out their programme from 1st May 1923.

Labour Sub-Committee—May 1923

On 2nd May a meeting of the Labour Sub -Committee was held and attended by Dr. Sathaye, L. G. Khare and S. A. Dange. It was resolved to request the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee to grant Rs. 400 per month for organising labour in Bombay. It also resolved to request the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee to allot separately Rs. 50,000 for labour work in Bombay.

The *Bombay Chronicle* of 4th May 1923 contained a letter dated 20th April to the editor by P. G. Sahasrabudhe of Dadar. In this letter the following scheme was suggested:—

- (1) For a special Session of the Congress to declare " A revolution against the Bureaucracy";
- (2) The revolution to be from within the Councils;
- (3) The revolution to be a peaceful one;
- (4) Outside measures also to be adopted such as Khaddar and boycott;
- (5) A National Volunteer Army of pleaders and students;
- (6) A syllabus of Indian National Service Examinations; and
- (7) A National Tax of 3 percent on everybody's earnings for the maintenance of Congress work and the National Army.

No serious notice was taken of this letter by anyone.

Nagpur Satyagraha

On 20th May the ' G' Ward District Congress Committee held a meeting at Dadar and passed resolutions:—

- (1) Congratulating the Nagpur Satyagrahis;
- (2) Appealing to all Congress Committees to send volunteers to Nagpur to continue the fight;
- (3) Calling for ' G' Ward volunteers to take up this cause; and
- (4) Offering to pay expenses to Nagpur.

During the third week of May, three meetings were held by the Bombay Swaraj Party advocating entry into Councils.

On 24th May, B. F. Bharucha addressed 200 people on the present situation and said that but for Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence, there would recently have been bloodshed all over India.

Untouchability

On 27th May a temple for the untouchables was opened at Walpakhadi, Mazgaon, by Mrs. Naidu. Rs. 2,000 were contributed to the building-fund of this temple at the instance of Gandhi from the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

All-India Congress Committee Meeting, Bombay

The most important event during the month of May was the holding of the All-India Congress Committee meeting in Bombay under the presidency of C. R. Das on 25th, 26th, 27th and 28th. The main object of this meeting was to arrive at an understanding between the various shades of Congressmen on the question of Council-entry. The other important matter before the meeting was the question of convening a special session of the Congress to consider the political situation. The All-India Congress Committee after much discussion passed a resolution directing that no propaganda be carried on amongst voters in terms of the resolution of the Gaya Congress regarding Council-entry. This caused a split among the No-changers with the result that C. Rajagopala-chari, Vallabhai Patel and four others resigned their seats on the Working Committee. In spite of an appeal to them to reconsider their resignations they stood firm and a new Working Committee had to be appointed. Other resolutions regarding convening the Special Session of the Congress, (held at Delhi in September 1923), Nagpur Satyagraha, National Pact, etc., were passed. The decision of the All-India Congress Committee to suspend anti-Council propaganda was discussed and adhered to by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee at its meeting on June 7th.

Nagpur Satyagraha —June 1923

On 13th June the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee held a meeting under the presidency of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. It was resolved that six volunteers should be sent off at once to Nagpur and 24 more later on. It was also decided to invest not more than five lakhs from the Tilak Swaraj Fund for the purchase of a building for the Congress in Bombay.

On June 19th, the Bombay Grain Merchants' Association closed business as a protest against the arrest of Jamnalal Bajaj in the Nagpur Satyagraha struggle. The other Marwadi Bazaar also followed suit and the Marwadi community appreciated the patriotism of Jamnalal Bajaj and his courage in courting arrest in the cause of the National Flag at a meeting held on 20th June. By 23rd June 1923 two batches of volunteers had left for Nagpur.

Gandhi Day in this month was observed with little interest.

On 23rd June a couple of Congressmen enrolled about 100 Congress members at Mandvi.

On June 30th, the Council of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee decided to take out the National Flag in procession in Bombay on 18th July 1923, Gandhi Day, in accordance with the instructions issued by Dr. Ansari, the Chairman of the All-India Congress Committee.

National Flag Day - July 1923

On July 11th, the Gold and Silver Satta Bazaar and the Marwadi Bazaar were closed on account of the news received in Bombay about the sentence passed on Jamnalal Bajaj in the Nagpur Satyagraha.

July 18th, the 16th Gandhi Day, was marked by flag processions in response to Dr. Ansari's appeal made at the Nagpur Congress Committee meeting held on July 7th, 1923. Two processions were taken out—one in the morning from the Congress Office to Madhav Baugh and the other in the evening from Chaupati sands to Madhav Baug. The number of processionists was 1,500 in the morning while in the evening there were about 5,000. The crowds were orderly and good tempered and the Police had no reason to interfere with them.

In the afternoon there was a meeting of ladies held at the Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall under the presidency of Mrs. Gandhi. About 500 ladies, who attended the meeting, joined the evening procession.

Nabha Abdication

On July 20th, about 200 Sikhs including 45 Akalis met at the Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall and passed the following resolution:—

"That this public meeting of the citizens of Bombay expresses its deep indignation at the high-handed dethronement of the Maharaja of Nabha and conveys its respectful sympathies with their enlightened Ruler and prays that His Highness may soon be restored to his legitimate position and power which he has wielded for the welfare of his subjects."

Speeches were made by Mrs. Naidu, B. F. Bharucha and two Sikhs advising the audience to be non-violent in word and deed.

Visapur Jail

On 27th July the Bombay Presidency Association held a public meeting in Bombay to protest against the Treatment of prisoners in the Visapur Jail. J. B. Petit, M. R. Jayakar, K. Natrajan, G. B. Trivedi and A. B. Chothia made speeches in support of a resolution condemning the arrangements at the Visapur Jail as set forth in the evidence before the Visapur Jail Committee and urging Government to put an end to the bell-chain, etc., if necessary, by abolishing the Visapur Jail. Other resolutions condemning the flogging in the Yeravda Jail of political prisoners were also passed. Leaflets headed "Visapur or Zoolumpur", being a reprint of a letter in the *Bombay Chronicle* from B. F. Bharucha were distributed at the meeting.

On 31st July, Tilak's third anniversary was celebrated.

August 1923

On August 8th the Council of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee met at the Congress Office under the presidency of Mrs. Naidu and decided as follows:—

"(1) The District Congress Committees should elect delegates to the Special Session of the Congress at Delhi by the 25th August 1923.

(2) Rs. 25,000 should be advanced as a loan for the Special Session of the Congress at Delhi."

Kenya Agitation

On 16th August the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee decided to observe hartal in Bombay on 27th August 1923, on account of the *Kenya Question*.

On August 18th, Gandhi Day was celebrated in Bombay by holding two public meetings under the presidency of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, speeches on Hindu-Muslim unity and the Kenya hartal were made. At the second meeting Vithalbhai J. Patel announced the end of the Satyagraha movement at Nagpur. A small exhibition of Khaddar was also organised by the Parsi Rajkiya Sabha. On this day the Bombay's sixth batch of Flag Volunteers reached Nagpur to practise Satyagraha on Gandhi Day.

During the last week of August a number of meetings were held about Kenya. Delegates were also elected for the Special Session of the Congress at Delhi on September 15th, 1923.

September 1923

In the beginning of September 1923, the Nationalist Municipal Party started arranging for a number of protest meetings in connection with the Municipal address to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay (Sir George Lloyd),

Demand for the release of Political Prisoners

On 9th September a public meeting under the presidency of Vithalbhai J. Patel was held at the Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall to protest against the detention of V. D. Savarkar in prison. About 500 people attended and M. R. Jayakar, L. R. Tairsee and Jamnadas M. Mehta made speeches. A copy of a brochure on V. D. Savarkar prepared by Jamnadas Mehta was sold at the meeting at three annas a copy.

Nabha Abdication

On 9th September about 125 Sikhs marched in procession barefooted from Shri Guru Singh Sabha to the Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall where they held a meeting under the presidency of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and a resolution was passed condemning the attitude of Government and of the Political Agent in deposing the Maharaja of Nabha.

In the middle of September there was a lull in political activities as most of the political agitators had left for the Special Session at Delhi. Gandhi Day was observed only by about 150 ladies of Bombay.

Special Session at Delhi

The Special Session of the Indian National Congress was held at Delhi on 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th September 1923.

Ganpati Celebrations

The Ganpati Festival opened on 14th September and ended on 23rd September. About 7 political lectures on the present situation, unity, national education and capture of Municipalities and Local Boards were delivered.

On September 28th, 29th and 30th, three public meetings eulogising the services of Jamnalal Bajaj and other Nagpur Satyagrahis were held.

On September 25th, a public meeting at the Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall was held by the Arya Samajists of Bombay when the aims and objects of the Shuddhi movement were explained.

October 1923

During the month of October 1923 the Swaraj Party candidates started an election campaign in Bombay by holding numerous meetings.

Gandhi's Birthday

On 2nd October the 54th birthday of Mr. Gandhi was celebrated in Bombay as follows:—

In the morning about 50 ladies of Bombay left Bombay for Pune to pay homage to Gandhi at the gates of the Yeravda Jail. Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhale, Mrs. Ratanbai Mehta and Mrs. Bachubai Thakkar were prominent among them. They returned to Bombay the same night.

(2) About 50 boys and girls of the National Girls' School offered prayers at Madhav Baugh for the early release and long life of Mr. Gandhi.

(3) The students of the Bombay National College and the National Medical College also held meetings in honour of this day.

(4) A small Khaddar exhibition was held in the evening at the Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall.

(5) Two public meetings were held in celebration of this day and an appeal to carry out Gandhi's programme was made by the local Congress workers.

(6) Two more meetings in honour of Gandhi's birthday according to the Hindu Calendar were held on 7th October 1923.

On 10th and 13th October, the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee discovered the need of economising expenditure of the Committee.

On 11th October, a pamphlet on " Boycott of British Empire Goods as a businessman sees " issued by L. R. Tairsee was distributed to the members of the Municipal Corporation. It was a reprint of an article contributed by Tairsee and published by the *Bombay Chronicle* in its issue of October 6th, 1923.

19th Gandhi Day was observed on October 18th by about 40 ladies of Bombay and a small exhibition was held as usual by them.

All-India Volunteers' Conference and Bombay Provincial Volunteer Conference

On October 28th, a meeting of about 40 volunteers was held at the Congress office to consider the scheme of Dr. N. S. Hardikar to organise an " All-India Volunteers' Conference "to be held in December at the time of the Session of the Indian National Congress at Cocanada. Each Congress Province was required to send 11 delegates to this Conference. It was agreed to hold the Bombay Provincial Volunteer Conference on 25th November at the Congress office in Bombay. This was postponed to December 2nd when the Bombay Provincial Volunteer Conference was held under the presidency of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. Forty-pledged volunteers and 20 visitors attended. R. S. Padbidri, K. P. Khadilkar, S. V. Puntambekar, L. G. Khare, Dr. D. D. Sathaye, A. T. Gidwani and S. V. Deshpande were prominent. The following resolutions were passed:—

(1)" That this Conference heartily supports the idea of holding an All- India Volunteer Conference at Cocanada during the Congress Week."

(2)" That this Conference is of opinion that the All-India Volunteer Conference should prepare a scheme for the organisation of a National Volunteer Corps and submit it immediately to the Congress for adoption."

The following eleven delegates were elected to the All-India Volunteer Conference:—

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. R. N. Bapasola. | 7. C. V. P. Shivam. |
| 2. Dr. D. D. Sathaye. | 8. S. V. Puntambekar. |
| 3. S. V. Deshpande. | 9. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. |
| 4. B. S. Shastri | 10. K. B. Sanzgiri. |
| 5. K. P. Khadilkar. | 11. J. C. Erunza. |
| 6. Sharma. | |

Akalis—November 1923

On November 8th, the Bombay Sikhs numbering about 75 organised a pro-cession and observed a " Sikh Prayer Day " in accordance with the instructions received from the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabhandhak Committee, Amritsar. A resolution extending sympathy to the Akalis was passed by them.

On November 18th, the 20th Gandhi Day was observed as usual by about 100 ladies by holding a public meeting at which Mohammad Ali and Bi Amma exhorted them to take to charkha and carry out Gandhi's programme if they desired Gandhi's release. The Chaupati meeting convened by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee on this day had to be abandoned owing to Shaukat Ali's illness.

Civic Guard Corps

At a Special Session of the Congress held at Delhi on 15th September 1923, it was resolved to ask all Congress Committees to form a corps of Civic Guards. The first step in Bombay to carry out this instruction was taken by the Girgaon District Congress Committee which held a meeting on November 22nd 1923, and appointed Dr. N. D. Savarkar, K. B. Sanzgiri and S. V. Deshpande as the Chairman, a Colonel and a Secretary Irrespectively, for their Civic Guard Corps. No progress was made by the Corps until January 1924 when the rules regarding their organisation, training and service were drawn up and a notice was issued on 9th January 1924, asking the Guards to be present at the Gowalia Tank Maidan on January 12, 1924, to receive instructions in drill and lathi exercises. In response to this notice about 12 members of the corps paraded at the Gowalia Tank Maidan on the morning of 12 January. The Guards were dressed in Khaddar shirts and Gandhi-caps and each of them had a bamboo lathi about four feet six inches in length. The number of the guards increased to about 25 towards the end of January 1924. The members, however, became irregular in their attendance at the parade in February and on 19th March 1924 the Secretary issued a circular dissolving the Civic Guard Corps. Thus ended the activity of the Civic Guard Corps. No other District Congress Committees in Bombay took steps to organise such corps in Bombay.

Cow Protection Movement

From the 19th to the end of November 1923 about seven meetings in connection with the cow-protection movement were held in Bombay. Resolutions protesting against the resolution of the Corporation prohibiting the slaughter of milch cattle under eight years of age were passed.

Anti-Address Movement

During the last two months of the year (November and December) 1923 a number of meetings were held by the Nationalist Municipal Party to protest against the Bombay Municipal Corporation voting an address to the outgoing Governor (Sir George Lloyd).

Congress Working Committee, Ahmedabad-Akalis

On 25th and 26th November 1923 the Congress Working Committee met at Ahmedabad and passed resolutions regarding Hardikar's scheme for Volunteers' Conference, Akali Sahayak Committee and Inter-communal Amity. It also issued a manifesto to the press drawing attention of the Indian newspapers to the necessity of exercising great restraint when dealing with matters likely to affect inter-communal relationship.

December 1923

Nothing of special importance took place in December except the holding of protest meetings in connection with the Kenya agitation and anti-address, movement which have been dealt with separately.

The last week of December was devoted to the Congress Session at Cocanada.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Bombay on the 29th, 30th and 31st January and 1st, 2nd and 3rd February 1923

I. Budget of Rs. 12,000 for 1923 for the office of the All-India Congress Committee was sanctioned.

Multan Affairs

II. Considered letter from Pandit Motilal Nehru forwarding copy of a letter from Lala Bodharaj regarding the relations between the Hindus and Mussalmans at Multan. Resolved that in view of the urgency and importance of the question a deputation consisting of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to visit Multan in February to bring about a reconciliation between the two parties.

III. * * *

IV. With reference to a telegram of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya intimating his inability to proceed to Multan in this month (February) resolved that Pandit Santanam be requested to communicate with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Pandit Malaviyaji and have a suitable date fixed for this visit.

Hartal—18th March

V.Resolved that the 18th March 1923, being the anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi's incarceration, *should be observed throughout the country as a day of sacrifice and prayer in a fitting manner and that the Working Committee calls upon the people of India to observe a peaceful Hartal throughout the country on that day.* It is further resolved that in places where that day happens to be a New Year's Day, business should be suspended at least after 12 noon.

That meetings should be held in all places to record the country's determination to carry on the non-violent struggle until its demands are conceded and that the whole week from the 10th, the day of Mahatmaji's arrest, to the 18th day of his conviction should be devoted to concentrate efforts for collections for the Tilak Swaraj Fund., enrolment of volunteers and propagation of Khaddar.

VI. * * *

East and South African Affairs

VII. Considered suggested resolutions regarding the position of affairs in East and South Africa and the general situation there.

Resolved that this Committee views with grave concern the development of affairs in East and South Africa and warns the Imperial Government that if they are unable to protect the lives, honour and just rights of Indian citizens in the British Dominions and Colonies, the people of India will be compelled to reconsider their views regarding India's partnership in the Empire. The Working Committee assures the Indians in East and South Africa of its support in their struggle and urges them to carry it on by all legitimate and non-violent means.

Labour Sub-Committee

VIII. Resolved that Dr. Sathaye be appointed convener of the Labour Sub-Committee and requested to report to this Committee the result of the Sub-Committee's preliminary deliberations and plan of work, if any, fixed upon and that Rs. 200 be advanced to him for initial expenses.

Reports of Congress Work

IX. The General Secretary is requested to call immediately for reports from various Provinces as to what steps have been taken to carry out the Congress, resolutions. In regard to Provinces where work is not carried out by the Provincial Committee, the General Secretary is authorised to take steps (including the authorisation of individuals and committees) in consultation with Dr. Ansari, Mr. Deshpande and Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel for carrying out the Congress resolutions.

Lawrence Statue

X. The All-India Congress Working Committee congratulates the people of Lahore on their decision to have the Lawrence Statue removed as being a standing insult and humiliation to the nation and hopes that they will carry on their struggle in a perfectly non-violent manner and continue it till they achieve success, prepared to make all sacrifices that they may be called upon to make.

Congress Records

XI. Whereas it is necessary for the Indian National Congress to have a central place for office records, library, etc., and whereas the Gandhi Nagar Managing Committee of Delhi offers to the Congress landed property, etc., worth rupees two lakhs with a promise of rupees one lakh from Seth Raghunath for the construction of a hall ;

It is resolved that the offer be accepted and that the grateful thanks of the nation be offered to the donors.

XII. Regarding Maharashtra election disputes, read letters from Messrs. V. G. Joshi, V. V. Dastane and H. G. Phatak dated 29th January 1923. Mr. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande explained the arbitration proceedings and award.

Resolved that (a) regarding the interpretation of the phrase " Present Executive Committee " in the award on the Pune Congress Committee elections of its own office-bearers and representatives of the Provincial Congress Committee, the Working Committee holds that the phrase " Present Executive Committee " means the Committee then holding at the time, namely, that of which Mr. Phatak was the President.

The procedure followed by the Secretary, Maharashtra Congress Committee, in calling upon Mr. Phatak, the Secretary, to holding fresh elections and the elections held in accordance with it of the 28th January were right and proper.

(b) Regarding the office-bearers and Executive Committee of the Provincial Congress Committee, the award must be given effect to and from and after 31st January 1923, the seats held by the gentlemen named in the award as bound to resign before the date, in conformity with the decision of the Gaya Congress, should be deemed vacant and filled in by fresh elections.

Congress Employment Bureau

XIII. Resolved that Messrs. Osman Sobani and Mathuradas Tricumji be requested to take steps to open an employment bureau in Bombay for providing situations for non-co-operating young men and that a sum of Rs. 200 be, advanced to them for office expenses in this connection. They are also requested to arrange, if possible, to open similar bureaus in other important centres in India.

XIV.	*	*	*	*	*
XV.	*	*	*	*	*

Congress Deputation

XVI. Resolved that a deputation to tour the country with a view to educate the people on the Congress programme fixed upon at Gaya and that the General Secretary be authorised to draw a sum up to Rs. 5,000 to defray the Expenses of the deputation.

Khaddar Scheme

XVII. Read scheme proposed by the Khaddar Department regarding hawking service and carding instructions.

Resolved that the scheme be adopted and a grant of Rupees three lakhs for the purpose be sanctioned and that a report of the progress of the scheme be submitted in May next.

The Scheme

- 1. Production of Khaddar is greatly hampered for want of prompt or proper demand;
- 2. The necessity of a steadfast body of workers, who can stick to this part of Congress work alone, is keenly felt and
- 3. Those that want to stick to it have yet to be offered means for permanent subsistence.

I. To alleviate all these difficulties I propose to organise through the Provinces a Khaddar-hawking and home-selling (men and women stocking Khaddar in their houses and selling) service 3,000 men strong, i.e., one man for every lakh of our total population.

The objective is to sell through these hawkers and home-sellers alone at least one crore of rupees worth of khaddar throughout the country by the end of this year and to maintain these workers by selling Khaddar at one anna per rupee above its actual cost, and paying that anna to the actual sellers. As an incentive, I propose to pay them for the first year a further remuneration often rupees for every five hundred rupees worth of Khaddar sold by them which, for a total of one crore of rupees, would amount to two lakhs. I request the Working Committee to sanction this amount as a grant.

II. Khaddar must greatly improve in quality and come down in price before its use can become universal in our country. The heads of my department strongly advise me and I am sufficiently convinced—

- (1) That both these improvements can be effected only in proportion as the number of processes of ginning and carding cotton and weaving yarn are put into the hands of the spinning family and that again more advantageously, when they have their cotton and
- (2) That the introduction of home-carding is the first step towards their achievement.

I therefore propose to organise through the Provinces another service of travelling instructors, 600 men strong, *i.e.*, twenty for every crore out of total population. One instructor can train on an average thirty men and cover about two villages every month. We can thus finish about ten thousand villages by the end of this year. This number will be sufficient to enable the industry to spread broadcast in our country of its own accord; and we expect to be free and better equipped with steadfast hands to tackle with the remaining process from the beginning of the next year.

At Rs. 30 per mensem the total salary of the instructors will amount to Rs. 2,16,000 for a period of one year. I propose that half the amount be allowed as a grant to those Provinces that bear the remaining half. And for this again I further request the Working Committee to sanction another one lakh of rupees.

This sum of three lakhs is allotted and earmarked for the respective Provinces as per detailed statement attached herewith.

Provincial Committees may utilise the grant among whole-time workers out of the volunteers enrolled under the Gaya resolutions provided that these volunteers are put on whole-time work under this scheme.

Any Province prepared to employ more volunteers under this scheme can apply for further allotments to be made out of unspent balances in other Provinces.

(Signed) JAMNALAL BAJAJ,
Member-in-charge.

XVIII. Read letter from the Khaddar Department suggesting that Sjt. Mathuradas Purshottam be appointed Director of the Production Department in place of Sjt. Lakshmidas Purshottam.

Resolved that the suggestion be accepted.

XIX.	*	*	*	*
XX.	*	*	*	*
XXI.	*	*	*	*

XXII. Resolved that a sum of Rs. 3.000 be granted to the General Secretary Indian National Social Conference, for the removal of untoucha- bility and promotion of temperance and inter-communal unity.

XXIII. Resolved that in the collections to be made in big centres like Calcutta, Bombay, Rangoon, etc., donors may earmark their subscriptions to the Tilak Swarajya Fund for All-India or Provincial Funds according to their desire.

XXIV. Resolved that the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee be requested to agree that out of the collections made for the Tilak Swaraj Fund in Bombay in accordance with the Gaya Congress resolution a sum of not less than three lakhs be contributed to the All-India Funds over and above the 5 per cent. Quota, provided that if any donations in Bombay be earmarked by donors for All-India, the difference only, if any. be made up.

XXV. Read letter of Mr. Godrej dated the 17th January 1923, suggesting that the interest on his donations of rupees three lakhs to the Tilak Swaraj Fund be applied by him to agricultural improvement on the lines of a scheme prepared by him.

Resolved that a copy of Mr. Godrej's letter be sent to the Trustees, Tilak Swaraj Fund, requesting them to give their opinion on this suggestion and to send necessary information and papers in connection with his donation of rupees three lakhs.

XXVI.	*	*	*
XXVII.	*	*	*
XXVIII	*	*	*
XXIX.	*	*	*

Rupees Five Lakhs for Khaddar Department

XXX. With reference to the letter dated 17th January 1923 from the Secretary, Tilak Swaraj Fund Trust Committee, resolved that the amount of rupees five lakhs be paid to Seth Jamnalal Bajaj on account of the All-India Khaddar Department on condition that if the Khaddar Department be wound up the proportionate amount of the balance then remaining will go back to the Trust Fund.

XXXI.	*	*	*
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Congress Publicity Bureau

XXXII. Resolved that a Publicity Bureau be formed and steps be taken for publishing the Congress Bulletin in order to carry out the policy and programme laid down by the Congress and to do Congress propaganda and the General Secretary be authorised to incur an expenditure up to Rs. 10,000 for the purpose.

Nationalist Municipal Party

It may be remembered that after Mr. Gandhi's incarceration, Congressmen like Vithalbhai J. Patel, Jamnadas M. Mehta and B. N. Motiwalla were deter-mined to capture the Bombay Municipality. On 2nd June 1922 these people convened a public meeting at the Marwadi Vidya-Taya Hall to explain the aims and objects of the Nationalist Municipal Party. B. N. Motiwalla told the audience which numbered about 150 that at that time there were only 11 Nationalists in the Bombay Municipal Corporation and it was up to them to increase the Nationalists' number in the Corporation. In October 1922 the Secretary of the Bombay Nationalist Municipal Party issued the first list of Nationalist Candidates desirous of contesting Municipal elections. On October 23rd, a joint meeting of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and the Committee appointed by the Municipal Nationalist Party was held at Arya Bhuwan under the presidency of Vithalbhai J. Patel. Candidates from the different Wards of the City were selected to contest the Municipal elections. In January 1923 a number of meetings were held in the city asking the people to support the Nationalist candidates standing for Municipal elections. In the middle of January 1923, Vithalbhai J. Patel as Chairman

How formed.
Selection of
Nationalist
for Municipal
elections.

of the Bombay Nationalist Municipal Party issued an election manifesto stating therein the constitution, policy and the programme of the Party. This manifesto laid down that every member of the Party was required to sign the creed of the Indian National Congress and to pledge himself to assist in carrying out, both inside and outside the Corporation, the Party's policy of securing the greatest civic good. Sitting members of the Corporation alone could become members of the Party. It was also laid down that the Party would try and introduce charkhas in all Municipal Schools and would take proper steps to make hand-spinning popular among school children. The instruction would be strictly on national lines, all patriotic songs being allowed in Municipal schools. Khaddar exhibitions would also be encouraged and the party would devote itself to the uplift of the depressed classes so far as it was permissible in civic administration.

Election Mani-
festo giving
policy and
programme of
the Party.

Congress
Work in the
Corporation.

List of Nationalists in the Corporation

After strenuous efforts about 42 Nationalists were successful in the elections that took place on 29th January 1923. A list showing the names of Nationalist candidates elected to the Bombay Municipal Corporation is given. A list showing the results of the Bombay Municipal election pointing out the success or failure of the non-co-operators in 1923 is given.

Success and
failure of non-co-
operation.

Activities of the Nationalists regarding anti-Address

In September 1923 the Nationalist Party in the Municipality arranged for a series of Ward meetings in Bombay to protest against the priority motion intended to be brought by the Corporation to vote an address to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay (Sir George Lloyd). The *Bombay Chronicle* of 22nd September and of the two succeeding days announced that a procession would start from the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee's Office, Fort, for the Municipal Hall on the afternoon of September 24th to protest against voting an address to His Excellency. Some 75 persons headed by Municipal Nationalist Party leaders went in procession with a national flag to the Municipal office. Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhale, Jivraj Nensey, L. R. Tairsee and B. F. Bharucha were prominent among them. People gradually collected and a crowd of about 400 eventually forced its way inside the Hall bringing the meeting to a standstill. The meeting was subsequently adjourned till the 25th September. The crowd subsequently held a meeting at which the principal speaker was Vithalbhai J. Patel. A resolution was passed expressing disapproval of the conduct of the President and the Municipal Corporation in adjourning the meeting. A large crowd again collected on the night of the 25th September and many of them shouted out "Shame, shame," to Mr.Dabholkar and his friends. The crowd dispersed only when they were informed that Mr. Dabholkar's motion was not to be brought in that night. On 26th September at a meeting held under the auspices of the Swaraj Party Vithalbhai J. Patel asked the people to muster strong in front of the Corporation Hall and pass resolutions condemning the proceedings of the Corporation on the day when the motion for the address came up. Three public meetings were then held by " A " Ward, " F " Ward and " G " Ward on October 2nd, 4th and 7th. They were addressed by Vithalbhai J. Patel, Balubhai T. Desai and others. The people were asked to exhort the voters to ask their representatives not to vote an address to the Governor.

On 15th November the Bombay Corporation passed a resolution voting an address So His Excellency Sir George Lloyd in spite of the opposition of the Nationalist Party. The Nationalists thereupon wrote out a protest challenging the statements of those Municipal members who argued that the majority of the people were in favour of the address.

On 2nd December a public meeting on Choupaty sands was held under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, Central Khilafat Committee, Nationalist Municipal Party and the Swaraj Party to protest against the Corporation address to the Governor of Bombay. Speeches were made by Vithalbai J. Patel, K. K. Santoke, B. F. Bharucha, A. H. S. Khatri and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu (who presided) on the following resolutions:—

(1) "This public meeting of the citizens of Bombay places on record its condemnation of the administration of Sir George Lloyd who has, by his reactionary and repressive policy, beginning with the deportation of Horniman and culminating in the arrest and incarceration of Mahatma Gandhi, proved himself to be an enemy of national aspirations."

(2) "This public meeting of the citizens of Bombay enters its most emphatic protest against the resolution of the Bombay Corporation voting addresses to the incoming and outgoing Governors of Bombay in open defiance of the clearly expressed public opinions to the contrary and calls upon those members who have voted in favour of these addresses to resign their Seats and seek re-election."

On 5th, 6th and 7th December, four public meetings of protest in this connection were held in the city. The Nationalist members addressed them in the usual way.

On the morning of 8th September when Sir George Lloyd departed from Bombay, the Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee (Usman Sobhani) had 10,000 leaflets in Gujarati and Marathi distributed in the city asking the people—

- (1) Not to collect on the route.
- (2) To make no demonstrations.
- (3) Not to shout shame.
- (4) Not to open their shops and so peacefully show their attitude.

The appeal fell completely flat and it may be noted that there was no sign of any hostile demonstration.

Deputy Leaders of the Party

At a private meeting of the Bombay Nationalist Municipal Party held on January 23, 1924 at Arya Bhawan, it was decided that Khurshed F. Nariman should act as a deputy leader of the Party in the absence of V. J. Patel for the purpose of attending the Legislative Assembly. His resignation of the leadership of the Party was not accepted.

V. J. Patel to stand for the Presidentship of the Corporation

At a meeting of the Bombay Nationalist Municipal Party held on March, 19th 1924, it was decided to put forward V. J. Patel as a Party candidate for election to the Presidentship of the Corporation (from April 1924).

V. J. Patel elected President

In April, 1924 he was elected President of the Bombay Municipal Corporation for the year 1924. In his place K. F. Nariman was appointed leader of the Party. In his regime as the President of the Corporation the Nationalist members succeeded in presenting a Corporation address to Mr. Gandhi on 29th August 1924.

Boycott of Viceregal Visit

On 25th November 1924 V. J. Patel as President of the Municipal Corporation declined the invitation to attend Viceregal functions on 2nd December, 1924. He was supported by the Nationalist Municipal Party in this attitude. The Bombay Corporation thereupon called an urgent meeting of the Corporation on 1st December 1924 in order to decide whether Mr. Patel should attend the Viceregal functions. The Corporation then resolved that Mr. Patel should attend the Viceregal functions. V. J. Patel, thereupon resigned the Presidentship of the Corporation on 5th December, 1924 as he did not wish to abide by the resolution of the Corporation. He was congratulated on this attitude by the Nationalist Municipal Party and other bodies at a public meeting held on 6th December, when the people were asked to be careful at the next elections not to re-elect those Corporators who had acted against the voters' wishes in the Corporation.

At the next meeting of the Corporation, however, he was allowed to occupy the Presidential chair.

On the 5th January, 1925, V. J. Patel was re-elected as President of the Corporation. He secured 50 votes as against 45 of Dr. M. C. Javle, his competitor. Mr. Patel said " Since he had resigned there were several members who cast their favours or disfavours but he had noticed that the Corporation had all along supported him in the chair.

Mr. J. M. Mehta—Except on the 1st of December.

(Laughter)

Mr. Patel, continuing, hoped that the Corporation would take him as he was. They knew him well and also his method of work and trusted they would bear with him if he voted against their wishes.

Mr. Patel then recapitulated the reasons of his tendering the resignation. He said His Excellency the Viceroy had come to Bombay and a few days before the arrival he received all the invitations to the Viceregal functions. He refused to attend the Viceregal functions and at once intimated the fact to the Corporation as he was their representative. Some members naturally felt annoyed for which he did not find fault with them. They brought a requisition and a meeting was called to consider the action he had taken in the matter. The majority passed a resolution asking him to attend the functions. That resolution was passed before the functions took place and he had time and opportunities to attend the functions. It was, however, against his convictions to attend the functions and he deliberately refused to do so and he regarded his election as a reward for standing by his convictions. He hoped they would take it in the same light.

"Mrs. Harry Hodgkinson—You say, Sir, in your speech that your re-election proves that the Corporation approves of your conduct in refusing to attend the Viceroy's reception. I wish to say, Sir, that I, a member of the Corporation, disapprove of your conduct entirely on that occasion and continue strongly to protest against it.

(Shouts of " Order, order ").

President—You may differ from me.

Mr. K. F. Nariman— Mrs. Hodgkinson is not the Corporation.

Elected Nationalist Candidates for Bombay Municipal Corporation

The following are the names of " Nationalist" candidates elected on the 29th January 1923 to the Bombay Municipal Corporation :—

'A' WARD

- *1. Mathuradas Tricumji.

' B' WARD

- *1. Vithalbhai Javerbhai Patel.
- *2. Mia Mohammad Haji Jan Mohammad Chotani.
- *3. Hussainbhoy Abdullabhoy Lalji.
- 4. Dr. Poonsey H. Meheshri.
- 5. Rahimtulla Karamali Peerbhoy.
- 6. Dr. Jethalal Vanmalidas Vora.
- 7. Abdul Kader Bawla (died on 13th January 1925).
- *8. Velji Lakhamsy Nappoo.
- 9. Kanji Karamsy Master.
- *10. Bhewanji Nathoobhai Meheshri.
- 11. Fateh Mohammad Haji.
- 12. Shivdas Champsey.
- 13. Ibrahim Suleman Haji.
- 14. Amruddin Salehbhoy Tyebji.

'C' WARD

- *1. Dr. M. B. Velkar.
- 2. Hansraj Pragji Thackersey.
- 3. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.
- *4. B. N. Motiwalla.
- 5. M. R. Curtey.
- *6. L. R. Tairsee.
- 7. Miss Bachubai Lotwalla.
- 8. Sunderrao D. Navalkar.
- 9. Balubhai T. Desai.
- 10. Ranchoddas Harjiwan.
- 11. M. M. Desai.

" D " WARD

- 1. Dr. B. Bhadkamkar.
- 2. K. F. Nariman.
- 3. Jamnadas M. Mehta.
- 4. Dr. D. D. Sathaye.
- 5. Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhale.

- ' E' WARD
1. S. L. Silum.

2. R. A. Gole.

*3. A. H. S. Khatri.

*4. V. A. Desai.

- ' F' WARD
1. Poonjabhai Thackersey.

2. Bhagwantrao Gangadhar Parelkar.

3. Jivraj Goculdas Nansey.

- 'G' WARD
1. Damodar Haridas.

2. Dr. M. C. Javle.

3. P. G. Sahasrabudhe.

4. F. J. Ginwalla.

List of the results of the Bombay Municipal election showing the success or failure of the non-co-operators in 1923

Ward	Names of non-co-operators who stood for elections		Non-co-operators who succeeded in the elections	Number of non-co-operators who contested elections	Number of non-co- operators who succeeded in the elections	Remarks
1	2		3	4	5	6
A	*1	Mathuradas Tri-kamji.	1	Mathuradas Tri-kamji.	2	1. a staunch non-co-operator.
B	*2	Mathuradas Canji Matani.				
	*1.	Vithalbhai Javerbhai Patel.	*1	Vithalbhai Javerbhai Patel.	16	14
	*2	Mia Mohamad Haji Jan Mohamad Chotani.	*2	Mia Mohamad Haji Jan Mohamad Chotani.		
	*3	Hooseinbhai Abdullabhai Lalji.	3	Hooseinbhai Abdullabhai Lalji.		
	4	Dr. Poonsi Hirji Meisheri.	4	Dr. Poonsi Hirji Meisheri.		
	5	Rahimtulla Karamali Peerbhai	5	Rahimtulla Karamali Peerbhai.		
	*6	Dr. Jethalal Vanmalidas Vora.	*6	Dr. Jethalal Vanmalidas Vora.		
	7	Abdul Kadar Bowla.	7	Abdul Kadar Bowla.		
	*8	Velji Lakhamsi Napoo.	*8	Velji Lakhamsi Napoo.		
	9	Kanji Karamsi Master.	9	Kanji Karamsi Master.		
	*10	Bhawanji Nathoo-bhai Mehesheri.	*10	Bhawanji Nat-hoobhai Mehesheri.		
	11	Manabhai Dal-patram Upadhya.	11	Fateh Moha-mad Haji.		
	12	Fateh Mohamad Haji.	12	Shivdas Chap-sey.		
	13	Abdul Rehman Haji Yaloola.	13	Ebrahim Sule-man Haji.		
	14	Shivdas Chapsey	14	Amruddin Salebhai Tyebji.		
	15	Ibrahim Suleman Tyebji.				
	16	Amruddin Salebhai Tyebji.				

1	2	3	4	5	6
C	*1. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. *2. Miss Bachubai Ranchodlal Lotwalla. *3. Bharvanidas Narandas Motiwalla. *4. Dr. M. B. Velkar 5. Hansraj P. Thakersey. 6. Mohamad Ismail Curtay. 7. Lakhmidas Ravji Tairsee. 8. Balubhai T. Desai 9. Ranchoddas Harjivan. 10. Sunderrao Dinanath Navalkar 11. Mohanlal Maganlal Desai. 12. Naranji Dayal. 13. Chimanolal D. Shah 14. Girjashanker B. Trivedi. 15. Narandas Purshotamdas. 16. R. Venkatram.	1. Dr. M.B. Velkar. 2. Hansraj P. Thakersey. *3. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. *4. B. N. Motiwalla 5. M. I. Curtay. 6. L. R. Tairsee. 7. Miss Bachubai R. Lotwalla. 8. Sunderrao D. Navalkar. 9. Balubhai T. Desai. 10. Ranchoddas Harjivan. 11. M. M. Desai.	16	11	Out of these 11 non-co-operators only 4 (marked*) are staunch non-co-operators, while the other 7 joined the " Nationalist Party " simply with a view to secure election.
D	*1. Jamnadas Madhavji Mehta. 2. Khurshed Framji Nariman. 3. Ramchandra M. Bhat. 4. Navroji Hormusji Belgaumwalla. 5. Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhale. 6. Dr. Ramkrishna Hari Bhadkamkar. 7. Dr.D.D.Sathaye	1. Dr.R.H.Bhadkamkar. 2. K. F. Nariman 3. Jamnadas M. Mehta. *4. Dr. D. D. Sathaye.	7	4	Out of these 4 non-co-operators only 2 (marked*) are staunch non-co-operators, while the other 2 joined the " Nationalist Party " to secure election.
E	*1. A. H. Khatii *2. Velkunthrai A. Desai. 3. Jafferbhai A. Lalji 4. Anantram Vaikunthram. 5. J.B.Patel. 6. R.A. Gole. 7. Dr. N. B. Savant. 8. S. L. Silam.	1. S. L. Silam 2. R. A. Gole *3. A. H. S. Khatri *4. V. A. Desai	7	4	Out of these 4 non-co-operators only 2 (marked*) are staunch and active non-co-operators, while others had to join the " Nationalist Party " to secure election.

1	2	3	4	5	6
F	1. Kasemkhan Mohamad Khan. 2. B. G. Parelkar . 3. Jivraj Goculdas Nansev. 4. Jinabhai Parbati- shanker. 5. Pooniabhai Tha- kersey.	1. Poonjabhai Tha- kersey. 2. B. G. Parelkar. 3. Jivraj Goculdas Nansev.	5	3	Out of these 3 non-co-ope- rators only 1 (marked*) is a staunch and active non-co- operator.
G	*1. P. G. Sahasra- budhe. 2. Damodar Hari- das. 3. F. J. Ginwalla . 4. Dr. M. C. Javle	1. Damodar Hari- das. 2. Dr. M. C. Javle. 3. P. G. Sahasra- budhe. 4. F. J. Ginwalla.	4	4	Out of these.4 non-co-ope- rators only 1 (marked*) is a staunch non- co-operator.
<i>Co-opted Councillors -</i>					
	1. R. M. Bhat. 2. N. B. Vibhakar. 3. Joseph Baptista 4. S. K. Pupala. 5. Mr. Avantikabai Gokhale. 6. R Venkatram. 7. Dr. G. V. Desh- mukh. 8. Jafferbhai A. Lalji. 9. P. D. Shamsdesni. 10. Umer Sobhani.	*1. Mrs. Avantika bai Gokhale. 2. Joseph Baptista. 3. Dr. G. V. Desh- mukh. 4. Jafferbhai A. Lalji. 5. R. M. Bhat. *6. Umer Sobhani.	10	6	Out of these 9 non-co-ope- rators only 2 (marked*) are staunch non- co-operators.
Total number of non-co-operators who stood for election					67
Total number of non-co-operators who succeeded in the elections					47
Total number of non-co-operators who are really staunch out of the elected lot					18

Swaraj Party, Bombay

It may be remembered that Mr. C. R. Das in closing the Session of the Gaya Congress in December 1922 made his position clear by announcing the formation of a Party within the Congress under his own leadership to work for the Non-co-operation programme within the Councils. This Party came into being in the succeeding months of the year 1923 and it was commonly known as the " Swaraj Party ".

Bombay Swaraj Party—How formed

M. R. Jayakar and Jamnadas M. Mehta were asked by C. R. Das to form a branch of the Swaraj Party in Bombay City towards the end of March 1923. Accordingly a meeting was held on March 25th, 1923, when the question of forming the branch was discussed. About two dozen Liberals and Moderates were present. K. Natrajan presided. The majority of those present were in favour of postponing all discussion regarding the formation of a branch until April 30th when the period allowed to the No-change Party within which to raise 50,000 volunteers and rupees 25 lakhs would end. Accordingly the discussion was postponed to 30th April. In the meantime it was decided that the new Party members should sign the Congress Creed.

In the beginning of May, M. R. Jayakar and Jamnadas Mehta appointed the following people as the Secretaries of the local branch and opened an office in Khatao Building, Girgaon:—

(1)Purshottam Tricumdas, Bar-at-Law.

(2)J. K. Mehta.

(3)A. G. Mulgaonkar.

Office-bearers appointed

On 8th May 1923 a private meeting of the new Party took place at Jayakar house when the following office-bearers were appointed:—

1	President	K. Natrajan.
4	Vice-Presidents	M. R. Jayakar. Vithalbhai J. Patel. Jamnadas M. Mehta. J. K. Mehta.
5	Secretaries	A. G. Mulgaonkar. Purshottamdas Tricumdas. S. H. Jhabwalla. B. G. Kher and Jafferbhoy H. Lalji.
2	Treasurers	Shantaram N. Dabholkar. Manilal D. Nanawati, Solicitor.

The same evening a public meeting was held by the Party and Mr. Jayakar announced that the chief policy of the Party would be to carry on a constitutional fight in the Councils. (A copy of the constitution and programme of the Party were distributed to the public.)

Progress

By the middle of May 1923, the branch opened offices in four different localities in the city for enlisting members and collecting funds. About 200 members were enrolled and between the 10th May 1923 and the 31st May 1923, nine public meetings advocating the views of Swaraj Party for entry into Councils had been held.

Bombay City, May 28th.—The Swaraj party of Bombay held a meeting in the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya on May 26th when C. R. Das was expected to speak but was unable to appear as he was engaged with the All-India Congress Committee. There was an audience of about 300.

Speeches were made by S. Satyamurti, A. Rangaswami Iyengar and Ranga Iyer. The last mentioned speaker said he was opposed to entry into the Councils and favoured the constructive programme. He also advocated the larger vision. By that he meant Asiatic Federation. In ancient times the peoples of China, Japan, Egypt and India were all one. The Hindu in China or Japan ought to feel now that he was the same as the Hindu in India. By Federation Asiatic would enhance their strength.

K. Natrajan, in his concluding remarks, laid the blame of not securing the release of Gandhi on the Liberals. He told the story of his having as a member of the Liberal party last year sent a very moderately-worded resolution to the Provincial Liberal Conference, presided over in Bombay by the Honourable Mr. Sastri. The resolution expressed regret at Gandhi's incarceration. It was unceremoniously rejected. Then it was that he left the Liberal party.

The Swaraj party held a meeting on May 27th to enable C. R. Das to put the aims and objects of his Swaraj party before the public of Bombay. Mr. K. Natrajan presided and the crowd of some 2,000 persons collected.

C. R. Das was late in arriving and S. Satyamurti spoke first to fill in time. He said that Bombay was the great mother of political movements in India. The Congress had been started here 37 years ago. Bombay had brought about union between the two parties in the Congress. Great men like Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Hakim Ajmal Khan had started the Swaraj party and there was no reason to distrust that party. C. R. Das had given himself up to Swaraj party propaganda and therefore success was a foregone conclusion.

Das arrived at this point and began to speak. He said he was very grateful to the All-India Congress Committee for arriving at a compromise between the two parties in the Congress. The existence of bitterness could not be denied, but even bitterness was a healthy sign. It showed that everyone had learned to think for himself. Non-co-operation had been a success in so far as it had caused an awakening among the people; but at the same time non-co-operation had given the bureaucracy the opportunity of consolidating its powers. The Swaraj party had been started to undermine those powers. Many people distrusted the Swaraj party's intentions, but this distrust would be removed if they carefully read the programme issued by the party. Those who persisted in distrusting the party, he would request at least to remain neutral. The boycott of the Councils had been a failure as had been the boycott of schools and colleges. He himself was a non-co-operator inside the Councils. The only result of the non-co-operator's abstention from the Councils was that undesirable persons had taken advantage of their absence by filling the Councils themselves. In spite of the boycott of Councils, Government was flourishing Government was passing unjust laws in the name of the reforms. Even if they went out into the jungle still they could not non-co-operate with Government. They had to abide by the Forest Rules. Let them then enter the Councils. As soon as they entered the Council, the Swaraj party would formulate the legitimate national demands and would insist on Government granting them. If Government refused, the Swaraj party would follow a persistent policy of obstruction until the bureaucracy found it impossible to carry on the administration. The bureaucracy would then by these tactics be forced to give way before the national will until the increase of the popular power in the Councils put an end to the irresponsible rule of the bureaucracy.

M. R. Jayakar proposed a vote of thanks to the speaker and the meeting broke up at about 8 p.m.

The more public meetings of the Swaraj party were held during the week the chief features of which are tabulated below:—

Date	Place	Speakers	No. present	Remarks
22nd May 1923.	Kirtiker's Wadi	1. J. M. Mehta. 2. Purushottamdas Tricumdas. 3. B. G. Kher	20	Advocated Council entry.
26th May 1923.	Kirtiker's Wadi	1. J. M. Mehta. 2. N. C. Kelkar. 3. L. B. Bhopatkar.	500	Do.

Swaraj Party Office shifted

The office of the Swaraj Party was moved on 1st June 1923 from Khatao Building to the office of Hiralal D. Nanawati, Solicitor, at 80, Esplanade Road. New Swaraj Party offices were also opened in June at Arya Bhuwan and in Rambaugh.

Nomination of Candidates for Council Elections

At a meeting held by the Party on June 23rd, a Selection Committee of 12 persons was appointed to nominate candidates for Council elections. This Committee held a meeting on July 1st at Natrajan's office and the following candidates were nominated for elections:—

1. Vithalbhai J. Patel

2. M. R. Jayakar

Legislative Assembly.
Do.
1. J. K. Mehta

2. Punjabhai Thakersey

3. S. J. Amin

}

For Bombay Council (City North).
1. K. F. Nariman

2. Balubhai T. Desai

3. M. B. Velkar

}

For Bombay Council (City South).
1. Jafferbhoy A. Lalji

2. I. S. Haji

}

For Bombay Council (Moham-
medan Constituency).

Difference ending with Resignations

On July 7th C. R. Das stopped at Bombay on his way from Madras to Nagpur. the was interviewed at Jayakar's place by Natrajan and 8 other members of the Party who had difference with Patel and Jamnadas Mehta over the question of nomination of candidates for the Legislative Assembly and the Bombay Councils. After seeing Mr. Das off by the Nagpur Mail on July 7th, Natrajan, Jayakar, Dabholkar and 8 others drew up their resignations. The resignations appeared in the *Chronicle* of July 8th and in the *Times of India* of July 9th and in it the signatories stated that there was a certain section in the Party in Bombay (obviously referring to Mr. Patel and Mr. Jamnadas Mehta) from which they were fundamentally and irrevocably separated in principles and methods.

The first meeting of the Bombay Swaraj Party since the resignations of Jayakar and others came off on July 17th when V. J. Patel presided over an audience of 400. Referring to these resignations Patel remarked that the least said, the soonest method. J. M. Mehta remarked that Natrajan and Jayakar had taken an honourable course in resigning.

Form of Undertaking

Below is the " Form of undertaking " required to be signed by the Swaraj. Party candidates who sought elections to the Councils :—

Bombay1923.

" FORM OF UNDERTAKING "

"Iof.....being a member of the Swaraj Party of the Indian National Congress do hereby offer myself as a candidate on behalf of the said Party for election to the Legislative Assembly Council from the constituency of..... and declare that if my candidature is approved by the General Council/Provincial Committee shall faithfully follow the principles and policy of the Party as laid down in its programme passed at Allahabad on the 22nd February, 1923 and shall strictly conform to all rules and directions which may have been or may hereafter be issued by the General or Provincial Council of the Party or a Sub-Committee appointed by either of the said Councils regulating the conduct of elections by members of the Party. I further agree that in case I am duly elected I shall faithfully observe all rules and carry out all instructions which may from time to time be issued by the General Council for the guidance of the elected members of Legislative Assembly/Provincial Legislative Council."

During the months of July and August, the Party held three meetings as shown below :—

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| 1. On July 25th | To congratulate Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha |
| 2. On August 3rd | Lecture by N. C. Kelkar on " Our future work ." |
| 3. On 11th August | Regarding unity. |

New Office-bearers of the Swaraj Party

At a general meeting of the Swaraj Party held on 2nd September 1923 at Khoja Mohalla, under the presidency of V. J. Patel, the following office-bearers were elected:—

President	Vithalbhai J. Patel.
Vice-Presidents	Balubhai T. Desai. Dr. M. B. Velkar. Jamnadas M. Mehta.
Secretaries	R. N. Mandlik. J. K. Mehta. Appabhai Desai and Bhadkamkar.

List of Candidates of the Swaraj Party

In September, 1923 the official list of candidates of the Swaraj Party for the Bombay Council and Legislative Assembly for the City of Bombay was issued. It was as follows :

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Non-Mohammedan Constituency	V. J. Patel.
Mohammedan Constituency	Hussainbhoy A. Lalji.

BOMBAY COUNCIL

Non-Mohammedan Constituency	1.	J. K. Mehta.
City North	2.	Punjabhai Thakersey.
City South	1.	Balubhai T. Desai.
	2.	Dr. M. B. Velkar, and
	3.	K. F. Nariman.
Mohammedan Constituency	1.	Jaffer A. Lalji.
	2.	I. S. Haji.

Swaraj Party Bulletins

In October 1923, the Bombay Swaraj Party commenced issuing election bulletins asking the voters to record their votes for the Swaraj Party Candidates and not for the Moderates whom the Swarajists were trying to oust.

Election Campaign

During the months of October and November 1923 (up to November 14th the day of Assembly elections) the Swaraj Party started a vigorous campaign in connection with the elections to the Reformed Councils and Legislative Assembly. A number of meetings were held as shown below : —

1	On October 3rd	Appealing to people to vote for Swaraj Party Candidates.	
1	On October 5th	Do.	Do.
1	On October 8th	Do.	Do.
1	On October 13th	Do.	Do.
1	On October 14th	Do.	Do.
1	On October 15th	Do.	Do.
2	On October 17th	Do.	Do.
1	On October 18th	Do.	Do.
1	On October 20th	Do.	Do.
1	On October 21st	Do.	Do.
1	On October 22nd	Do.	Do.
2	On October 23rd	Do.	Do.
1	On October 26th	Do.	Do.
2	On October 27th	Do.	Do.
2	On October 28th	Do.	Do.
2	On October 29th	Do.	Do.
1	On October 30th	Do.	Do.
1	On October 31st	Do.	Do.
1	On November 2nd	Do.	Do.
1	On November 3rd	Do.	Do.
1	On November 4th	Do.	Do.
2	On November 9th	Do.	Do.
1	On November 10th	Do.	Do.
1	On November 11th	Do.	Do.
1	On November 12th	Do.	Do.
2	On November 13th	Do.	Do.
Total 33 between 3rd October and 14th November 1923.			

Success or Failure of Non-Co-operators at the Elections

A list showing the result of elections to the Bombay Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly, pointing out the success and failure of the non-co-operators in the Bombay City in 1923, is given. This success was mainly due to the suspension of all propaganda against Council-entry by the Special Session of the Congress held in the middle of September 1923

Swaraj Party Plans for Bombay Council

After the elections were over the Bombay Swaraj Party held a private meeting of the members of the Swaraj Party elected to the Bombay Legislative Council, at the residence of Mr. Jayakar on 13th January 1923, to elect office-bearers of the Council of the Swaraj Party and to lay down the policy to be pursued in the Bombay Council.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar presided and about 30 members including a few independents such as Lalji Naranji, Pahlajani and A. M. Surve attended. The following office-bearers of the "Council Swaraj Party" were elected:—

Office-bearers

Leader	M. R. Javakar.
Deputy Leader	J. K. Mehta.
Secretary	L. B. Bhopatkar.
Whip of Maharashtra Party	L. B. Bhopatkar.
Whip of Gujarat and Sind	Waman Mukadam
Treasurer	Jaffarbhoj A. Lalji
Executive Committee	Five above office-bearers and other four, viz. Swami Narayan, Nalal or Nalierwalla, Joshi and Adwani.

Policy

The policy laid down was to the following effect:—

(1) In the event of the Government refusing to as entertain the demand suggested at a meeting of the General Council of the Swaraj Party at Coca-nada and published in the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 3rd and 4th January 1924, the members of the party will resort to a policy of continuous obstruction.

(2) No office shall be accepted by the members.

(3) No members shall accept Presidentship or Deputy Presidentship.

(4) No member shall serve on any Commission or Standing Committee or Advisory Board.

(5) The members can become members of the Select Committee, can take part in the voting for the membership of the Select Committee and can obstruct the work of the Select Committee.

(6) The members can put interpellations.

(7) The members can move a resolution with the permission of the Executive Committee, and

(8) All demands for grants in the Council should be opposed; but it shall be open to members to abstain from voting on any item if there are special reasons. With the permission of the Executive Committee certain items of budget (such as education) can be voted for if there is a chance for any bargain with the other members of different view who promise to help the Swarajists in other items. It will be recommended to the Central Council that M.L.C.s of the Party be permitted to accept travelling allowance, etc.

Swaraj Party (Bombay Branch)

6, Khatav Mansions,
Girgaum Tram Terminus.
Bombay, 3rd April 1923.

Dear Sir,

In pursuance of the instructions from the Central office of the Swaraj Party at Allahabad a branch of the Party has been established in Bombay.

You will find a copy of the programme and constitution of the Party below.

Enrolment of members has been started and we request your co-operation by inviting you to join the Party. We also hope that you will be kind enough to help us to secure support from among your friends and also in collecting funds for the Party.

Early in May, a general meeting of the members will be called to elect permanent office-bearers.

You will find from the perusal of the programme that the contesting of the next Council elections is one of the principal items of the Party-programme and as a preliminary thereto we beg to bring to your notice that the electoral rolls of the Legislative Assembly and Local Council are being prepared by the authorities. Copies of the different rolls as at present are available for inspection at our office. We shall always be willing to supply you with any further information that may be needed. It is hoped that you and all your friends possessing necessary qualifications will take early steps to get their names enrolled.

We enclose herewith a form of enrolment as a member of the Party (we also enclose another form of membership to a Congress organisation which you will please fill in if you are not already a member of any such organisation). We trust, you will be kind enough to return these as early as possible to the office duly filled in along with the necessary subscription (Rs. 3 if you are already a member of a Congress organisation. Rs. 3-4-0 if you are not a member).

All enquiries may be addressed to us.

Organiser:
J. M. MEHTA

Yours faithfully,
J. K. MEHTA.
PURSHOTTAM TRIKAMDAS,
A. G. MULGAONKAR,
Provisional Secretaries,
Swaraj Party, Bombay Branch.

The Programme

Whereas this Party within the Congress was formed and constituted at Gaya on the 31st December 1922, and whereas by its manifesto bearing the said date it accepted the creed of Congress, viz., the attainment of *Swarajya* by all legitimate and peaceful means; and whereas by the said manifesto it further accepted the principle of non-co-operation as guiding and shaping its activity, but with the determination to apply it rationally, and to prevent the principle from degenerating into a lifeless dogma, now this Party declares that the policy of non-violent non-co-operation shall include, on the one hand, all such activity which stands to create an atmosphere of resistance making Government by bureaucracy impossible with a view to enforce our national claim and vindicate our national honour and on the other hand, it shall include for the said purpose all steps necessary for the gradual withdrawal of that co-operation by the people of this country without which it is impossible for the bureaucracy to maintain itself; and whereas it is further necessary to define the attitude of the Party to the question of civil disobedience, this Party makes the following declaration : That whilst fully accepting civil disobedience as a weapon which must be used and applied when the country is prepared and occasion demands it, the Party recognises such disobedience can only be based on obligation to obey a higher law and determine that the application of civil disobedience must depend on the vivid realization of such duty by the people of this country and the attitude of the bureaucracy with regard to such realization, that in the opinion of the Party the country is not yet ready for such civil disobedience but in the course of the work of this party according to the programme which

is hereinafter set out this Party would conceive it to be its duty whenever, such occasion arises to carry out such civil disobedience as circumstances may then demand; and whereas it is necessary to frame a detailed programme of work in pursuance of principles enumerated this Party resolves upon the following programme:

The Scheme of *Swarajya* prepared by Messrs. Chitteranjan Das and Bhag-vandas be circulated; opinions be invited and a Committee consisting of the said two gentlemen be appointed to collect opinions submitted to them or expressed in the country and the said Committee to submit their scheme of *Swarajya*, after full consideration of such opinion to this Party within six months from now. The immediate objective of the Party is the speedy attainment of full Dominion Status, that is the securing of the right to frame a constitution adopting such machinery and system as are most suited to the conditions of the country to the genius of the people. The Party will formulate a definite programme of organising and instructing the electors of the legislatures of the country. The party will set up nationalist candidates throughout the country to contest and secure seats in Legislative Council and the Assembly at the forthcoming general elections on the following basis :

They will, when they are elected, present on behalf of the country, its legitimate demands as formulated by the Party, as soon as the elections are over and ask for their acceptance fulfilment within reasonable time by Government.

If the demands are not granted to the satisfaction of the Party, the occasion will then arise for the elected members belonging to the Party to adopt a policy of uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction within the Councils with a view to make Government through the Councils impossible. But before adopting such a policy the representatives of the Party in the Councils will, if necessary, strengthen themselves by obtaining the express mandate of the electorates in this behalf. Detailed instruction in this behalf will be given by the Party after the elections are over.

In no case will any member of the Party accept office. The Party will contest elections to local and Municipal boards in several Provinces, with a view to secure the control of the Nationalists over local and Municipal affairs. The Party will take steps to organise labour in the country, industrial as well as agricultural ryots and peasants, with a view to protecting and promoting its interests and enabling it to take its proper place in the country's struggle for *Swarajya*.

The Party will frame a plan for the boycott of selected British goods on the advice of a Sub-Committee and will put it into operations as a political weapon in pursuit of its aim. The Party will accord its full support in such a manner as it thinks necessary to the carrying out of the constructive programme of the Congress in relation to Swadeshi, Khaddar, Temperance, Untouchability, inter-communal unity and the promotion of national education and arbitration courts, and will also endeavour to increase the number of members on Congress rolls. The Party will take immediate steps as a temporary measure and until greater national solidarity is achieved to promote the formation of what may be called the Indian National Pact, in several Provinces, by means of which all reasonable communal claims may be guaranteed and disputes and differences may be settled in order that the attainment of the nation's freedom may be facilitated.

The Lucknow Pact will generally govern communal representation as between Hindus and Mohammedans and efforts will be made to bring about a similar understanding regarding the claims and interests of other communities, like

Sikhs. Jews, Indian Christians (including domiciled Anglo-Indians) Non-Brahmins and Depressed Classes, in several provinces. The Party will take steps for India to participate in the formation of a federation of Asiatic countries and nationalities with a view to secure the solidarity of Asiatic nations to pro-more Asiatic culture and mutual help in matters of trade and commerce. The Party will take steps to start, maintain, revive and reorganise agencies of foreign propaganda for Indian affairs with special reference to the dissemination of accurate information and securing the sympathy and support of foreign countries in this country's struggle for Swarajya.

The Constitution

The name of the Party will be Swarajya Party. Every person who is a member of any Congress organisation in the country and subscribes to the constitution and programme of the Party, shall be eligible to be a member of the Party. Every member shall pay an annual subscription of Rs. 3. There shall be a general council of the Party consisting of all members of the All-India Congress Committee, who are members of the Party, and two members elected by each Provincial Council. There shall be an executive Council of the Party consisting of the President and the General Secretary who shall be *ex-officio* members, and seven persons to be nominated by the President from amongst the members of the General Council. There shall be a Treasurer of the Party who shall be appointed by the Executive Council. Every Province shall have full autonomy in all provincial matters, including the carrying out of the programme of the Party and in the organisation of provincial and other subordinate, general and executive committees, subject always to general instructions issued from time to time by the General Council or the Executive Council of the Party.

Swarajya Party (Bombay Branch)

FORM OF MEMBERSHIP

To

The Honorary Secretaries,
Swarajya Party,
Bombay Branch.

Dear Sirs,

I have read the programme and constitution of the Swarajya Party. Please enrol my name as a member of the Bombay Branch of the said Party.

I beg to
.....

I have signed the form of membership
to a Congress Organisation.

Full name Mr./Mrs. Miss

Designation.....

Address

Signature

*List of the results of elections to the Bombay Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly
showing the success or failure of the Non-co-operators in the Bombay City in 1923*

Constituencies	Non-Co-operators who stood for elections	Non-Co-operators who succeeded in the elections	No of Non-Co-oper-a-tors who contested elections	No.of Non-Co-opera-tors who succeeded in the elections	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>(1) Bombay Council Elections</i>					
Bombay City, North. 3 seats.	(1) Jayasukhlal Krishnalal Mehta. (2) Punjabhai Thakersey. (3) Shivdas (Champsi withdrew his candidature in favour of J. K. Mehta).	(1) Jayasukhlal Krishnalal Mehta. (2) Punjabhai Thakersey.	2	2	Both of them are the members of the Swaraj Party, which aims at mending or ending the Council if the demands of the Indian National Congress are not conceded to when put forward.
Bombay City, South, 3 seats.	(1) Balubai T. Desai. (2) Dr. M. B. Velkar. (3) K. F. Nari-man.	(1) Dr. M. B. Velkar. (2) K F Nari-man.	3	2	Do.
Bombay City, Mohamedan constituency, 2 seats.	(1) Jafferbhai A. Lalji. (2) Ibrahim S. Haji.	(1) Jafferbhai A. Lalji.	2	1	Do.
Bombay Uni-versity, 1 seat.	(1) M. R, Jaya-kar.	(1) M. R. Jaya-kar.	1	1	Do.
<i>(2) Assembly Elections</i>					
Bombay City, Non-Moha-medan cons-tituency.	Vithalbhai Javerbhai Patel.	Vithalbhai Javerbhai Patel.	1	1	President of the Bombay Branch of the Swaraj Party, the aims and objects of which are to mend or end the Councils and Assembly if the nationa demands are not conceded to withdrew his candidature in favour of Mr.
Mohamedan constituency.	Hussenbhai Lalji.	--	--	--	M. A. Jinnah, an Independent.

**Proceedings of the All-India Congress Committee held in Bombay (Krishna Buildings) on
25th, 26th, 27th and 28th May, 1923**

The following members were present:—

BEHAR PROVINCE

1. Sjt. Anugraha Narain Singh.
2. Sjt. Rajendra Prasad.
3. Professor Abdul Bari.
4. Dr. Syed Mahmud.
5. Sjt. Ramdayal Sinha.
6. Sjt. Braj Kishore Prasad.
7. K. P. Sen Sinha.
8. Sjt. Rambinode Sinha.
9. M. Mohammad Shafi.
10. Mr. Fazeur Rahman.
11. Sjt. Baransi Prasad Jhunjunwala.

BERAR PROVINCE

1. M. Syed Abdul Rauf Shah.
2. Sjt. Ramchandra Anand Kanitkar, B.A., LL.B.
3. Sjt. B. G. Khaparde, B.A., L.L.B.
4. Sjt. S. W. Kelkar.
5. Sjt. Narhar Shioram Paranjpye.
6. Sjt. Madho Shrihari Aney.

UNITED PROVINCE

1. Sjt. Raghubati Sahai.
2. Pt. Bishambharnath Bajpe.
3. Sjt. Shiva Prasad Gupta.
4. Sjt. Atmaram Govinda Kher.
5. Sjt. Sampurnanand.
6. Sjt. Malkhan Singh.
7. Maulana Azad Sobhani.
8. Maulana Zahur Ahmed.
9. Sjt. Veda Baratji
10. Sjt. Purshotamdas Tondon.
11. Sjt. Jawaharlal Nehru
12. Maulana Shaikh Khaliq-uz-Zaman.
13. Sjt. Gauri Shankar Misra.
14. Sjt. Shri Prakash.
15. Sjt. Ramprasad Misra.
16. M. Moazam Ali.
17. Sjt. C. S. Ranga Iyer.
18. Sjt. Mannilal.
19. Pandit Kapildeo Malaviya.
20. M. Tassadduq Ahmed Khan Sherwani.

BENGAL PROVINCE

1. Sjt. Kantilal Parekh.
2. Sjt. Siris Chandra Chatterji.
3. Shrimati Urmila Devi.
4. Sjt. C. R. Das.

5. M. Ashrafuddin Ahmed Chaudhari.
6. Sjt. Shyam Sunder Chakervarty.
7. Sjt. Hardayal Nag.
8. Maulana Shamsuddin Ahmed.
9. M. Mujibar Rahman.
10. M. Tamizzuddin Ahmed.
11. Sjt. Satyandra Chandra Mitra.
12. Sjt. Kiran Shankar Ray.
13. Subbas Chandra Bose.
14. Sjt. Upendra Nath Banerjee.
15. Sjt. Profoula Chandra Ghosh.
16. Sjt. Birandra Natha Sasmal.
17. Sjt. Surya Kumar Som.
18. Sjt. Manmohan Neogi.
19. Sjt. Hemprova Majumdar.

PUNJAB PROVINCE

1. Syed Attaullah Shah.
2. Maulana Ghulam Hussain Chaudhari.
3. Maulvi Abdul Kadir.
4. Pandit K, Santanum.
5. Shaikh Dost Mohammad.
6. Chaudhari Afzal Haq.
7. Maulvi Mazhar Ali.
8. Sjt. Sunder Singh.
9. Master Tara Singh.
10. Sjt. Sardax Teja Singh Samundri.
11. Chaudhari Mohammad Sultan.
12. Khaja Abdul Rahman Ghazi.
13. Rana Feroze Din.
14. S. Jag. Jit Singh.
15. Shyam Lal.
16. L. Bodhraj.
17. Sjt. Nekiram Sharma.
18. Lala Dunichand.
19. L. Kewal Kishen.
20. Khan Abdul Rashid.
21. L. Hansraj.

CITY OF BOMBAY

1. Dr. D. D. Sathaye.
2. Sjt. K. P. Khadilkar.
3. Sjt. V. V. Jerajani.
4. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

AJMER PROVINCE

1. Sjt. Arjun Lal Sethi.
2. Mirza Abdul Qadir Beg Saheb.
3. Sjt. Harbhauji Upadhyaya.

BURMA PROVINCE

1. Sjt. V. Madanjit.
2. Sjt. U. Ottama.

- ASSAM PROVINCE
1. Sjt. Tarun Ram Phukan.
- GUJARAT PROVINCE
1. Sjt. A. T. Gidwani.
 2. Sjt. Vaman Rao Sita Ram Mukadam.
 3. Sjt. Pragji Khandubhai Desai.
 4. Sjt. Champakala Jekisan Das Ghai.
 5. Sjt. Mahadeo H. Desai.
 6. Sjt. Manilal Vallabhji Kothari.
 7. Sjt. Vallabhbhai J. Patel.
- SIND PROVINCE
1. Sjt. Virumal flegraj.
 2. M. Pir Illahi Bux Shah.
 3. M. Kazi Abdur Rahman.
 4. Sjt. Hiranand Karamchand.
 5. Sjt. Bhojraj M. Ajwani.
 6. Sjt. Narayon Das Anandji.
 7. Sjt. Mahir Singh.
- DELHI PROVINCE
1. Pt. Pearay Lala Sharma.
 2. Lala Sumat Prasad.
 3. Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari.
 4. Professor Indra.
- MAHARASHTRA PROVINCE
1. Sjt. J. M. Mehta.
 2. Sjt. N. N. Ashtaputre.
 3. Sjt. C. V. Vaidya.
 4. Sjt. L. B. Bhopatkar.
 5. M. Shukralla.
 6. Sjt. S. M. Paranjape.
 7. Sjt. D. V. Gokhale.
 8. Sjt. V. J. Patel.
 9. M. I. N. Hakim.
 10. Sjt. R. N. Mandlik.
 11. Sjt. N. C. Kelkar.
 12. Mr. Shukralla.
 13. Sjt. S. D. Deo.
- ANDHRA PROVINCE
1. Sjt. Varahagiri Venkatagiri.
 2. Sjt. K. Rajagopalacharya.
 3. Sjt. D. Ramchandra Rao.
 4. M. Syed Mohiuddin Kadri.
 5. Sjt. T. Prakasam.
 6. Sjt. G. Harisarvottamrao.
 7. Sjt. Konda Venkattappa.
 8. Sjt. B. Sambamurty.
 9. Sjt. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.
 10. Sjt. B. C. Y. Sharma.
 11. Sjt. G. Ramchandra Rao.
 12. Sjt. Varramilli Mangayya.

MADRAS (TAMIL NADU) PROVINCE

1. Dr. Vardarojdu Naidu.
2. Mr. George Joseph.
3. Sjt. C. Rajgopalachariar.
4. Sjt. K. Santanum.
5. Sjt. N. S. Vardachari.
6. Sjt. S. Satyamurty.
7. Mr. W. P. Ignatius.
8. Sjt. T. R. Mahadevan.

C. P. MARATHI PROVINCE

1. M. Samiulla Khan.
2. Sjt. M. V. Abhyankar.
3. B. S. Moonji.
4. Dr. N. B. Khare.
5. Sjt. M. B. Deshpande.

C. P. HINDUSTHANI PROVINCE

1. Sjt. Shyam Sunder Bhargava.
2. Sjt. Ghanshyam Singh Gupta.
3. Sjt. Thakur Chedi Lal.
4. Sjt. Keshawa Ramchandra Khandekar.
5. Sjt. E. Raghvendra Rao.
6. Sjt. P. D. Jatar.
7. M. Abdul Kadir Siddiqui.

KARNATAK PROVINCE

1. Sjt. M. R. Kembhavi.
2. Sjt. R. Venkataram.
3. Sjt. H. S. Kowjalgi.
4. Sjt. V. S. Umachigi.
5. Sjt. A. Bhojrao.
6. M. A. Abdulla Saheb.
7. M. S. N. M. Razavi.
8. Sjt. D. R. Majali.
9. Sjt. K. Sadashiva Rao.
10. Sjt. N. B. Hardikar.

KERALA PROVINCE

1. Sjt. A. K. Pillai.
2. Sjt. K. P. Kesava Menon.
3. Kurar Neelkarthan Namboodripad.
4. Sjt. T. R. Krishna Swami Iyer.

UTKAL PROVINCE

1. Sjt. Rajkrishna Bose.
2. Sjt. Niranjan Patnaik.
3. Sjt. Mahabir Sinha.
4. Sjt. Gopabandhu Chaudhari.

Note.—This attendance list was prepared on the 26th May. Some members left on the subsequent days.

On the motion of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, C. R. Das took the chair.

The President made a statement and explained his position. He stated that he had requested his followers to join the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee as he had been told by many friends that there was a chance of an understanding being arrived at between the various shades of Congressmen.

The Secretary read out telegrams from Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Hakim Ajmal Khan, and the Secretary, Burma Provincial Congress Committee.

The President wanted to take the sense of the House on the question of a compromise. If the majority were opposed to the idea then it was fruitless entering into any discussion on the subject. He called upon members representing various provinces to place their views before the Committee.

Sjt. 'Purshottam Das Tandon and Jawaharlal Nehru informed the Committee of the resolution of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee on the subject in favour of an arrangement which would lessen conflict. The U. P. Provincial Congress Committee was strongly and practically unanimous in favour of some such arrangement.

Pt. K. Santanum stated that the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee had also adopted a resolution in favour of a compromise by a majority of 17 against 13.

Sjt. B. Vallabhbhai J. Patel on behalf of Gujarat appealed to the minority party to give up their revolt and thus bring about unity.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu on behalf of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee said that although opposed to Council-entry she was in favour of a compromise.

Sjt. Menon from Kerala said that his Provincial Congress Committee supported suspension of boycott propaganda although the Provincial Conference had not declared itself in favour of the idea.

Sjt. Santanum from Tamil Nadu observed that his Committee passed a resolution opposing the suspension of anti-Council propaganda.

Sjt. T. Prakasam from Andhra said that his Committee was in favour of special session of the Congress.

Sjt. Deshpande from Karnatak explained the position of his Committee being in favour of vigorously carrying on boycott propaganda.

M. Mohammad Shafi from Bihar said that the majority of workers in his province favoured suspension of boycott propaganda.

Sjt. Viramal Beghraj (Sindh), Sjt. Raj Narain Bose (Orissa) Dr. Ansari (Delhi), Sjt. Arjun Lal Sethi (Ajmere), Dr. R. S. Moonj (Nagoore), Sjt. T. R. Phookan (Assam) speaking on behalf of their respective provinces favoured the idea of compromise.

Sjt. Shyamsunder Chakraverty (Bengal) was opposed to any interference with the Gaya resolution.

The President then observed that as there was genuine desire for compromise among the majority of the members present, he invited them to hand over the resolution they wanted to move on the subject.

A number of resolutions were then handed over to the President.

Sjt. Das then commented upon the various resolutions and referred to the following resolution of the Working Committee :—

"Resolved that the Working Committee be authorised to take steps for the convening of a Special Session of the Indian National Congress to consider the present political situation provided that Deshbandhu Das and his party agree to abide by the decision arrived at therein ; in which case the Working Committee is further authorised to exercise all the powers of the All-India Congress Committee in regard to the convening of such Special Session. He opposed the proposal to convening a special session of the Congress at this Stage. He could not give any undertaking on behalf of his party as he had no time to consult it. Some of the resolutions were thereafter withdrawn.

The following four propositions then came off for discussion :—

(1) The resolution of the Working Committee about special session with an amendment of Sjt. Samba Moorthy (Andhra). (Given below).

(2) Mr. Abhyankar's resolution to the effect.—" Resolved that Council-entry at the next elections be made a part of the Congress programme."

(3) Mr. A. T. Gidwani's resolution.—" Resolved that this Committee requests all parties in the Congress while remaining firm in their convictions for or against the Councils to suspend any activities that go counter to the latter and the spirit of the Gaya Resolution."

(4) Sjt. Purshottam Das Tandon's resolution.—"In view of the fact that there is a strong body of opinion within the Congress in favour of contesting elections to official Councils and that the existing division amongst the Congressmen has already led to a lessening of the influence of the Congress, this Committee deems it absolutely necessary that Congressmen should close up their ranks and present a united front and it therefore directs that no propaganda be carried on amongst votes in furtherance of Resolution 6 of the Gaya Congress relating to the boycott of Councils."

Mr. Venkat Ram and Sjt. Shyamsunder Chakraverty rose to a point of order whether the All-India Congress Committee was competent to discuss matters in direct conflict with the resolution of the Congress.

The President ruled out the objection.

Mr. Hardayal Nag and Mr. Venkat Ram then opposed all resolutions and the amendments that were placed before the House.

Mr. A. T. Gidwani (Gujarat) explained his resolution and urged the desirability of giving effect to the constructive programme as the only programme calculated to bring about Swarajya.

Sjt. Purshottam Das Tandon explained his resolution that it did not go against the Gaya resolution.

Mr. Abhyankar criticised Mr. Gidwani's speech. Sjt. Shyamsunder Chakraverty supported Professor Gidwani, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru supported Sjt. Tandon's resolution. Dr. Murari Lal favoured the idea of convening a Special Session of the Congress.

Mr. B. Samba Moorthy moved the following amendment to the working Committee's resolution :—

(1) Having regard to the present political situation in the country and the necessity for united action by Congressmen holding divergent views this Committee deems it necessary that a Special Session of the Indian National Congress be convened at an early date to consider and decide on an effective common programme of future work.

(2) This Committee therefore calls a Special Session of the Indian National Congress to meet in Bombay not later than 30th June and directs the Working Committee to take all necessary steps on that behalf.

Pt. K. Santanam (Punjab) supported Sjt. Tandon's resolution owing to changed condition in the country. Messrs. Moazzam Ali and George Joseph moved for an adjournment of the House.

Sjt. Shiva Prasad Gupta moved for closure.

It was put to vote and was lost by 78 against 71.

The adjournment motion was then put to vote and declared carried by 70 against 50. The Committee adjourned to 26th May 1923, 8-00 a.m.

The Committee resumed its sitting on 26th May 1923 at 8-30 a.m. in the Krishna Building, Bombay.

Sjt. C. R. Das, Presiding

The President called upon members to send in their names if they wanted to take part in the debate. Several names were handed in. President then called upon members to express their views on the resolutions.

Lala Duni Chand (Ambala) supported Council-entry. Sjt. N. P. Sen Sinha (Bihar) opposed any change in the Gaya Programme and supported the proposal for Special Congress. Mr. Aney (Berar) supported Sjt. Tandon's resolution. Sjt. Mahadeo Desai (Gujarat) supported Mr. Gidwani's proposition.

Baba Saheb Paranjape (Maharashtra) supported Council-entry.

Mr. Venkayya (Andhra) favoured convening a Special Session of the Congress.

Mr. A. K. Pillai (Kerala) advocated Council-entry. Mr. George Joseph (Tamil Nadu) strongly opposed the idea of any change in the Gaya resolution. Mr. Hari Sarvottam Rai (Andhra) was in favour of Special Session of the Congress. Mr. S. D. Deo (Maharashtra) condemned any attempt to go against the Gaya resolution.

Mr. Shamsuddin (Bengal) supported suspension of boycott propaganda.

Mr. Santanam (Tamil Nadu) was opposed to suspension of anti-Council propaganda.

Mr. D. V. Gokhale (Maharashtra) advocated compromise. Mr. N. S. Yerodachari (Tamil Nadu) opposed suspension of boycott propaganda.

Mr. S. C. Bose (Bengal) supported compromise. Mr. Moazzam Ali (United Provinces) was in favour of Special Session.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar (Maharashtra) was strongly in favour of responsive cooperation and wanted suspension of anti-Council propaganda.

Pattabhi Sitarammaya (Andhra) opposed suspension of boycott propaganda.

Mr. Satyamurty (Madras) appealed for unity and supported Mr. Tandon's resolution.

Mr. Prakasam (Andhra) would prefer Special Session. Maulana Azad Sobhani (United Provinces) was not in favour of suspension.

Pt. Vallabhbhai J. Patel (Gujarat) strongly opposed the resolution for suspension of boycott propaganda.

Mr. B. N. Sasmal (Bengal) supported compromise.

Sjt, C. Rajagopalachari (Tamil Nadu) opposed any change in the Gaya Programme.

Dr. Ansari (Delhi) advocated unity at all costs. Sjt. Rajendra Prasad, (Bihar) was opposed to suspension of boycott propaganda.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu (Bombay) supported compromise.

President then summed up the debate and on taking votes declared that the resolution for Special Session was the main resolution and Sjt. Tandon's resolution was to be treated as amendment to it. Accordingly the amendment was put to vote first and declared carried by 96 voting for 71 against it—11 not voting.

The amended resolution was then put to vote and carried.

The meeting adjourned to 6 p.m.

The Committee reassembled at 6 p.m. in the same place—Mr. Das being in the Chair as before.

President then read out the following letter of resignation signed by six members of the Working Committee:—

To

The Chairman,

All India Congress Committee meeting.

Dear Sir,

In view of the decision of the All-India Congress Committee adopting a resolution of vital importance on which we held a contrary opinion and which runs counter to the resolution of the Congress we consider it our duty to resign our seats on the Working Committee and such as we hold therein which we humbly do.

We remain,

Yours faithfully,

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI
VALLABHBHAI J. PATEL (Secretary)
RAJENDRA PRASAD (Secretary)
BRAJ KISHORE PRASAD.
C. B. DESHPANDE.
JAMNALAL BAJAJ (Treasurer).

Bombay, 26th May 1923.

The President asked them to reconsider their resignations.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru moved the following resolution:—

" The Committee does not accept the resignations offered by Messrs C. Rajagopalachari, Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Braj Kishore Prasad, G. B. Deshpande, Jamnalal Bajaj."

The Committee expresses its confidence in them and requests them to reconsider their resignations.

It was duly seconded and supported.

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya opposed the resolution.

Dr. Ansari, Mrs. Naidu and Mr. T. Prakasam also resigned and their names were also included in the above resolution.

Thereafter there was considerable discussion as to whether the resignations should be accepted. Several members supported Pandit Jawaharlal's resolution

Adjournment of the house was moved but it was lost.

Ultimately Pandit Jawaharlal's resolution was carried and the meeting adjourned till 8 a.m., 27th May 1923.

The Committee resumed its sitting on 27th May 1923 at 8 a.m.

Mr. Moazzam Ali, who had been absent the day before, also tendered his resignation.

The reply of the members who had tendered their resignations in writing was then read out. It was as follows:—

Dear Sir,

We thank you and the members of the All-India Congress Committee for asking us to withdraw our resignations but after giving very great consideration to the question again, we regret we still feel that we cannot serve on the Working Committee.

Yours faithfully,

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru again urged upon the members to reconsider their resignations. Several members then spoke, some favouring the acceptance of the resignations and some opposing it. The resignations, however, were not withdrawn.

The President then advised the Committee to accept the resignations, and appoint a small Committee of 5 persons, viz. Dr. Ansari, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. Prakasam, Sjt. Purshottam Das Tandon and Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru authorising to suggest names of members for the new Working Committee which the house should accept. Accordingly the following resolution was passed:

" Resolved that resignations tendered including the resignation of the President be accepted."

The house then adjourned for an hour.

On reassembling, the suggestions for the personnel of the new Working Committee were read out and agreed to by the Committee. The following office-bearers and members were elected:—

1. Dr. Ansari (Chairman).
2. Mrs. Naidu.
3. Mr. Prakasam (Secretary).
4. Sardar Tejsingh Samudri.
5. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

6. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru (Working Secretary).
7. Sjt. Purshottamdas Tandon.
8. Dr. Syed Mahmood (Secretary).
9. Sjt. Viromal Begraj.
10. Pt. K. Santanum.
11. Sjt. Velji L. Nappoo.
12. M. Omar Sobani.
13. Sjt. Anugrah Narain Sinha.
14. Dr. Vardarajalu Naidu.
15. Khwaja Abdul Majid Saheb.

The next item on the agenda was then taken up. There was some discussion upon the question of certain election disputes in the Provinces of C. P., Marathi and Maharashtra. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru suggested that a small Committee of the following gentlemen, viz.:—

Dr. Murari Lal.

M. Shafee.

Mr. George Joseph and

Professor Kripalani.

be appointed to go into the whole question and report to the Committee the next day. This was agreed to.

Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari then moved the following resolution of the Working Committee:—

" Resolved that the All-India Congress Committee congratulates the volunteers of Central Provinces on their Satyagraha in defence of the National Flag at Nagpur and calls upon all volunteers throughout India to be ready to join in the struggle when required."

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu seconded it.

Mr. Sampurnanand wanted to know what the National Flag was.

Some discussion followed to which Sjt. Rajagopalachari replied in suitable terms.

The resolution was then put to vote and carried (only 4 voting against it).

The Committee adjourned till the next day.

Committee resumed its sitting at 12 noon on the 28th May 1923

In the absence of Mr. Das, Sjt. Rajagopalachari was voted to the chair.

Mr. Desai (Bombay) drew the attention of the house to a letter which had appeared upon Mr. Venkat Ram's name in the *Bombay Chronicle*. The letter was a copy of the protest addressed by Mr. Venkat Ram to the President and it should not have appeared without the permission of the Committee. Mr. Desai therefore, moved a vote of censure on Mr. Venkat Ram. After some discussion the resolution was withdrawn.

At this stage Mr. Das having arrived took the chair.

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru read out cables that had been received from the South Africa about the state of affairs prevailing in that country. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru then moved the following resolution of the Working Committee:—

" The Committee regrets that the period fixed at Gaya for the collection of money for Tilak Swarajya Fund and the enrolment of volunteers has expired without the quota for men and money being completed. The Committee is of opinion that in order to carry on Congress work in an effective manner and create proper atmosphere for the fulfilment of the national programme, it is necessary to have a sufficient number of workers and funds and therefore calls upon all Congress Committees immediately to set about strengthening the Congress organisation and to pursue vigorously during the next two months the work of collection of money for the Tilak Swarajya Fund and the enrolment of volunteers so that the quota allotted to each Province may be completed by the end of July next."

Pt. K. Santanum seconded it.

Mr. Basant Kumar Muzamdar (Bengal) moved the following amendment:—

" That the P. C. Committee should be authorised to relax the pledge for enrolment of volunteers."

Mr. Hanmant Rao opposed the amendment.

At this stage B. Rajendra Prasad made a statement about collection of funds and enrolment of volunteers in the various Provinces.

After some discussion the amendment was put to vote and lost.

The resolution was then carried.

Sjt. Hardayal Nag (Bengal) then moved his resolution on the Salt Tax of which he had given previous notice.

Whereas the finding of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee that the country is not yet fit for mass civil disobedience has been interpreted as our weakness and advantage has been taken thereof to saddle the masses with heavier load of increased taxation which is evidently meant as an antidote to our proposed no-tax campaign. There is no doubt that our progress has been considerably slowed down, the cause of which can be easily traced to our excluding in a manner the masses from the arena of Congress activities. We have neither tried to understand the masses, far less to take them into our confidence, organised efforts have ever been made to give them any training. We condemn them unheard simply because they are inarticulate and dumb. We pose as their representatives without representing them. Their growing consciousness is making them understand that we interested in not giving them proper training in civil disobedience especially in no tax campaign. Our distrust of the masses is rapidly making them distrust us and distrust between us and the masses has become almost mutual. Fit or unfit, no practical training of civil disobedience can be given to the masses without field-work. It will be criminal neglect of our duty to waste more time without some sort of civil disobedience for their field-training. No reasonable mind can expect to win *Swaraj* without mass action in a large scale. The doubling of Salt Tax affords finest opportunity for disobeying the Salt Law,. It is therefore resolved that steps be immediately taken to disobey the Salt Law by —

(a) starting individual civil disobedience in a large scale for manufacture of salt in all places where it can be profitably manufactured:

(b) boycotting imported salt of all kinds;

(c) reducing the consumption of salt as far as possible. Sjt. N.,P., Sen Sinha (Behar) seconded it.

At this stage the President Mr. Das expressed a desire to leave the meeting, owing to some important engagement elsewhere.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu conveyed the thanks of the house to Mr. C. R. Das who then left,

Mr. K. Vankatappaya then took the chair.

The resolution on Salt Tax passed by the Bengal P.C.C. was then read out to the meeting.

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru opposed the resolution of Sjt. Hardayal Nag. (Dr. Ansari arriving, he took the chair).

The resolution of Sjt. Nag was then put to vote and declared lost.

Accounts of the All-India Congress Committee as audited by Mr. Sopariwalla were then distributed among the members. The proceeding of the All-India Congress Committee meetings at Gaya and Allahabad were then confirmed.

Dr. Murarilal then read the report of the Committee appointed to go into the question of C. P. (Marathi) election dispute.

Pt. K. Santanum (Punjab) proposed the adoption of the said report.

Mr. Kiranshankar Roy (Bengal) moved an amendment to the effect that the report be referred back to the Committee for a fuller report. The amendment was lost.

Pt. Santanum's resolution was carried.

Prof. Kirpalani read out the Committee's report on the dispute in the Maharashtra Province. Mr. Desai moved that the report be adopted. Mr. Mehta objected to the report and opposed its adoption.

The resolution was put to vote and carried.

Pandit Neki Ram Sharma then moved a resolution dealing with the condition of the untouchables.

There was some discussion upon it.

Ultimately it was decided that this resolution be referred to the Working Committee for necessary action.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru then read out the resolution sent to the All-India Congress Committee by the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan.

Dr. Ansari made a statement regarding the National Pact and it was resolved that the scheme be referred to the Working Committee for completing the draft and circulating the same when completed among the members of the All-India Congress Committee.

Nagpur Flag Satyagraha and Bombay's Support

In about the last week of May 1923 the news about the Nagpur Flag Satyagraha struggle reached Bombay. C. V. P. Shivram of the " G " Ward District Congress Committee was the first to take a keen interest in the struggle. A private meeting of the council of the ' G ' Ward District Congress Com-mitee was held at his instance at Dadar on 20th May 1923 and passed

resolutions congratulating the Nagpur Satyagrahis and appealing to all Congress Committees of the city to send volunteers to Nagpur to continue the fight.

On 13th June 1923 the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee held a meeting under the presidency of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and it was resolved to send at once six volunteers to Nagpur. It was also decided to send 24 more volunteers later on. Rs. 200 were sanctioned by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee for send off to the first batch.

The first batch of six volunteers consisting of—

1. D. D. Wadia,
2. Hiralal Chaudhari,
3. Bhagvatiprasad *alias* Lenin,
4. 4. D. D. Dharankar,
5. M. Kondanand Ramanand, and
6. Chhaganlal A. Kothari.

left for Nagpur on 15th June 1923 to practise Satyagraha there on 18th, the Gandhi Day.

On 19th June the Bombay Grain Merchants' Association closed business as a protest against the arrest of Jamnalal Bajaj in the Nagpur Satyagraha struggle. At a meeting held on 20th June the Marwadi Community applauded the patriotism and courage of Jamnalal Bajaj.

On 23rd June 1923 the second batch headed by C. V. P. Shivram left for Nagpur.

In the beginning of July 1923, National Flag miniatures for wear on Gandhi caps and on buttons were sold to public by the Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee at one pice each.

On July 5th a meeting of the "Volunteers" Sub-Committee, appointed by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, was held at the Congress office. It was decided to send six volunteers every week from Bombay City if requisitions from Nagpur were received. Pending a requisition from Nagpur it was decided to send no one until the second batch from Bombay had been utilised.

On July 11th the Gold and Silver Satta Bazaar and Marwadi Bazaar were closed on account of the news received in Bombay about the sentence passed on Jamnalal Bajaj in the Nagpur Satyagraha.

On July 12th a private meeting of the Volunteers' Sub-Committee of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee was held and as a result of the sentence passed on Jamnalal Bajaj it was decided to continue sending more batches to Nagpur.

On 15th July a third batch of six volunteers left for Nagpur to practise Satyagraha there on the Gandhi Day (18th July).

On July 18th in response to the appeal made by Dr. Ansari at the Nagpur Congress Committee meeting held on July 7th, flag processions were organised in Bombay. Two Processions, one in the morning and the other in the evening, were taken out on this day which also observed as a Gandhi Day. The morning procession, which consisted of about 1,500 people, marched with flags from the Congress office to Madhav Baugh. The evening procession

which contained 5,000 people including 500 ladies, with flags, marched from Chaupaty to Madhav Baugh. The crowds were on the whole orderly and the event passed off peacefully. Before joining this procession of the evening, the ladies had held a meeting at the Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall under the presidency of Mrs. Gandhi.

On 30th July the fourth batch of volunteers left for Nagpur. his batch, was headed by Vishweshwar Birla (who is related to the family which owns the Birla Mill but who is looked on as a dreamer and political hot-head of the Gandhi persuasion).

On 11th August the fifth batch consisting of eight flag volunteers left for Nagpur. On 15th August the sixth batch of five flag volunteers left for Nagpur. In honour of this batch the Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee marched in a procession from the office at Kalbadevi to the Marwadi Bazaar on the night previous.

On 18th August 1923 at a public meeting held at the Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall under the presidency of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu to celebrate the Gandhi Day. Mr. Vithalbhai J. Patel, who had been to Nagpur to assist his brother Vallabhbai J. Patel on 23rd July 1923 and who had returned by this time to Bombay, announced the end of the Nagpur Satyagraha.

On 11th September 1923 a public meeting was held at Dadar under the auspices of the ' G ' Ward District Congress Committee to congratulate the Bombay volunteers on their success in the Flag Satyagraha at Nagpur.

A list showing the names of persons convicted in connection with the Nagpur Flag Satyagraha is attached (please see below). This list includes those volunteers who went from Bombay at their own expense and without the cognizance of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee to practise Satyagraha in their individual capacity.

List of persons convicted in connection with the Nagpur Flag Satyagraha

Serial Names No.	Residence	Date of Conviction	Sentence awarded
1 Jethabhai Kanji Bania	Mandvi	23rd June 1923.	In default of security 1 year's R.I. by Mr. Deoskar, M.I.C. (preferred jail).
2 Shamji, son of Lawji Bania	Girgaon	Do.	Do.
3 Dhanjishaw Dinshawji Wadia	Bombay	22nd June 1923.	In default of security 1 year's R.I., by Mr. Joglekar, M.F.C.
4 Channolal Anandji Kolhari	Do.	Do.	Do.
5 Bhagwati Lalita Prasad Nigam Kayastha.	Do.	Do.	Da
6 Raman, son of Kodan Iyer, Brahmin.	Bombay	22nd June 1923.	In default of security 1 years R. I. by Mr. Joglekar, M.F.C.

Serial No.	Names	Residence	Date of conviction	Sentence awarded
	Hiralal Kaluram Chaudhari	Bombay	22nd June 1923.	In default of security 1 year's R. I., by Mr. Joglekar, M. F. C.
8	Rajaram, son of Ramchandra Rajput.	Do.	14th July 1923.	6 months R. I., 1 month's S. I., by Mr. Deoskar, M.F.C.
9	Hariram, son of Jethabhai	Mandvi	16th July 1923.	6 months' R. I., 1 month's S. I., by Mr. Smellie, M.F.C.
10	Govindji, son of Jairamkapul Bania.	Sandhurst Road	17th July 1923.	Do.
11	Bhagwansingh, son of Thamansingh Fanaswadi Chhatri.		Do.	Do.
12	Sahu Premchand, son of Kharamanki Laxmichand, Jain.		Do.	Do.
13	Gobardhan, son of Beharlal, Brahmin.	Kalbadevi Road	Do.	Arrested at Railway Station and sentenced to 1 year's R. J., on refusing to furnish security by Mr. Joglekar, M.F.C.
14	C. K. Purbhit Chandraseka, son of Kalidas, Brahmin.	Khetwadi Police Station.	17th July 1923.	Arrested at Railway Station and sentenced to 1 year's R. I. on refusing to furnish security, by Mr. Joglekar, M.F.C .
15	Tulsidas, son of Vithaldas, Bania.	Tambakata, Pydhonie.	Do.	Do.
16	Kantilal, son of Lallubhai	Johari Bazaar	Do.	Do.
17	Mohanlal, son of Lallubhai, Bania.	Parsighat, Dho-bitalao.	Do.	Do.
18	Dinkar Rao, son of Prabhakar Brahmin.	Rao, Dhanji Street	Do.	Do.
19	Manishankar, son of Jetha- bhai, Brahmin.	Bombay	12th July 1923.	Do.
20	C. P. B. Siwana	Bombay	23rd July 1923.	6 months' R. I. and 1 month's S. I., in each offence, by Mr.Tiwari. Sentences to run consecutively.
21	K. S. Bajpai, Brahmin	Do.	Do.	Do.
22	G. R. Deo, Brahmin	Do.	Do.	Do.
23	K. P. Desai, Brahmin	Do.	Do.	Do.

Serial No.	Name	Residence	Date of conviction	Sentence awarded
24	D. D. Bhakrey, Brahmin	Bombay	23rd July 1923.	6 months' R. I. and 1 month's S. I. in each offence, by Mr. Tiwari. Sentences to run consecutively.
25	K. M. Jalsali, Bania	Do.	Do.	Do.
26	Vithal Madan Manki, Chatri	Do.	3rd August 1923.	6 months' R. I. and 1 month's S. I. each, by Mr. Varma, M.F.C.
27	Vishweshwar Birla, son of Fanaswadi Hajari Mall, Vaishya.		13th August 1923.	6 months' R. I. and 1 month's S. T., by Mr. Ramsadan, M.F.C.
28	Purshotam Brijlal Thakar, Jumma Masjid Lohana.		Do.	Do.
29	Shankleshwar, son of Babulnath Raghunath, Brahmin.		Do.	Do.
30	Dharsi, son of Null Bazaar, Bhagwandas, Bania.	Bombay.	Do.	6 months' R. I. and 1 month's S. I., by Mr. Varma, M.F.C.
31	Prabhudas Udhoji, Bania	Bombay	Do.	Do.
32	Banmalidas, son of Null Bazaar Chunilal, Bania.		Do.	Do.
33	Rajaram, son of Bombay Keshaooram Gowanday, Brahmin.		Do.	In default 2 sureties and personal bond, 1 year's R. I., by Mr. Slaney M.F.C, on 16th August 1923.
34	Bhiva, son of Agadankar	Girgaon	Do.	Do.
35	Dattatraya Govind	Byculla	Do.	Do.
36	Shah, son of Bhai Parel Lalchand, Bania.		Do.	Do.
37	Atmaram Ramji Jadhao	Do.	Do.	Do.
38	Govind Anant	Do.	Do.	Do.
39	Dharmadhikari, Brahmin.		Do.	Do.
39	Bhawoo Rao Bhagwantrao	Do.	Do.	Do.
40	Kolumbkar, Brahmin.		Do.	Do.
40	Hirji Birji Bhatya	Kalbadevi	Do.	Case withdrawn on 20th August 1923 by Mr. Slaney, City Magistrate.
41	Krishnaji, son of Raghoji Princess Street Bhatya.		Do.	Do.
42	Ballabhdas, son of Bhuleshwar Bhagwanji, Bania.		Do.	Do.
43	Tikamdas Khemji Bhatia	Juni Hanuman Gulli.	Do.	Do.
44	Dattatraya Vishvanath Lalbaugh Khadekar, Brahmin.		Do.	Do.

Bombay on the Kenya Question

The *Bombay Chronicle* of 4th August 1923 published a resolution of the Working Committee (held at Vizagapatam and at Nagpur in the beginning of August 1923) in connection with the observance of *Hartal* throughout India on 26th August 1923, on account of the adverse decision of the British Government on the Kenya question. The same day (4th August 1923) the Swaraj Party held a public meeting under the presidency of Jamnadas M. Mehta. Speeches were made by J. K. Mehta and Balubhai T. Desai protesting against the decisions of the British Government on the Kenya question. This was followed by about three more public meetings of protest against the Kenya decision up to the 24th August 1923, on which date the Kenya Deputation to England consisting of Mr. Shastri, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, M. A. Desai, G. S. Khaparde and M. A. Jinnah arrived in Bombay by S. S. *Naldera*. The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee in the meantime appointed a Committee to make the necessary arrangements for the observance of the *Hartal* on the 27th August and not on 26th as the latter date was unsuitable owing to a holiday.

Kenya Hartal

The *Hartal* arranged by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and the Central Khilafat Committee for the 27th August 1923, was only very partially observed. Even in the Hindu and Mohammedan quarters in the city some 50 percent of the shops were open and it was noticed that all places of public amusement were open as usual. None of the mills stopped work except the Indian Manufacturing Mill at Ripon Road, 200 weavers of which absented themselves on account of *Hartal*. A very few volunteers were seen in the course of the forenoon going round in the Dadar locality advising shopkeepers to close, but their tactics were in no way aggressive. In the evening a large crowd estimated at over ten thousand in number thronged the Chaupati sands and the neighbouring localities. A public meeting was held on the Chaupati sands the same evening and speeches were made by Mrs. Naidu, M. R. Jayakar, Moazzam Ali, Vithalbhai J. Patel, K. Natrajan, Jamnadas Dwarkadas and four others on the "Kenya betrayal". The most effective speaker of the evening was Vithalbhai J. Patel who advocated boycott of British goods in retaliation for the "Kenya betrayal". The following resolution was passed:

PROTEST RESOLUTION

" This meeting of the citizens of Bombay places on record its emphatic condemnation of the betrayal of Indian interests in Kenya by the British Government whose settled policy, based upon racial discrimination and colour prejudice, is to humiliate Indians wherever and whenever it is possible".

" This meeting assures its countrymen in Kenya of its deepest sympathy and pledges itself to full support of whatever means they might adopt for the redress of their wrongs."

Boycott of British goods recommended

On 3rd September a public meeting under the joint auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and the Swaraj Party was held on Chaupati sands to consider the boycott of British goods as a means of retaliation for the Kenya decision. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presided and spoke about the seriousness of passing a resolution which would bind them completely to boycott of British goods. Vithalbhai J. Patel, M. R. Jayakar, M. A. Desai,

Jamnadas
speeches.

Dwarkadas, J. K. Mehta and Narandas Purshotamdas, made The following
resolution was passed at the meeting:—

" That in the opinion of this public meeting of the citizens of Bombay a complete boycott of goods made in the British Empire should be undertaken by the country as a retaliatory measure against the whole reactionary policy of the Imperial Government and the Government of India of which the Kenya decision is but the latest flagrant manifestation and for that purpose this public meeting recommends to the Special Session of Indian National Congress to appoint a Committee of Experts to prepare a scheme showing from time to time which goods should be boycotted and the method and manner of their boycott according to the conditions and requirements of the country. But nothing in this resolution shall be deemed to affect or interfere with the *khaddar* programme as laid down by the resolution of the Congress relating to the boycott of all foreign cloth."

Note.—The Special Session of the Congress at Delhi appointed a Committee of, Umar Sobani, Vithalbhai J. Patel, J. K. Mehta and two others to prepare a draft for the boycott of Empire goods. This report appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle* of 19th December 1923. The Cocanada Congress, to which it was submitted, took no notice of it.

Moderates-cum-Liberals-cum-Extremists' Mass Meeting

The Moderates-cum-Liberals-cum-Extremists' mass meeting came off on September 11, under the presidency of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. The object of the meeting was to unite all shades of political opinion in a notable protest against the Kenya decision. The meeting was held at the Town Hall which was packed to its utmost capacity and the attendance was estimated at 3,000. There was a good deal of uproar at the outset owing to various factions objecting to Sir Chimanlal being imposed on the meeting as Chairman and it was not until K. Natrajan had assured the audience that he himself did not want to preside and until Chotani and Tairsee had formally proposed and seconded Sir Chimanlal to the Chair that he (Sir Chimanlal) was allowed to proceed with his speech. Even so he was impatiently listened to. Sir Purshottamdas Thakordas moved the first resolution " against the dangerous and intolerable principle of white domination ". " If", he said, " the British Cabinet does not protect all people, whether brown or pale skinned, then we have no use of the British Empire." This sentiment brought down the house. B. S. Kamat, the Honourable P. C. Sethna and others spoke similarly and supported the same resolution. The second resolution to the effect that the Government of India must be made fully responsible to the people of India was proposed by M. R. Jayakar and seconded by K. Natrajan and G. B. Trivedi. In the opinion of many, Jayakar's was the speech of the evening. His chief point was that the Commonwealth experiment would succeed only when the main races constituting the Commonwealth were possessed of equal strength leading to mutual respect and esteem. The third resolution exhorting the people of India to work for a reversal of the Kenya decision was proposed by the Honourable Lallubhai Samaldas, seconded by J. B. Petit, Mirza Ali Mohammad Khan and Lalji Naranji. J. B. Petit said he did not believe that the Government of India had done their level best. The fourth and the last resolution about retaliation and boycott was moved by Jamnadas Dwarkadas. The most practical part of the resolution was the appointment of a committee to prepare a scheme of boycott of goods made in the British Empire, India excepted. The crowd expected Tairsee or Maheshri to propose an amendment favouring boycott of all foreign goods, but in asking Jamnadas Dwarkadas to move the resolution, Sir Chimanlal remarked that it was being moved without prejudice to the stronger opinions of the

Congress party. This explanation prevented any amendment being moved. Tairsee avowed himself satisfied. " The British ", he said, " were here not for their good but for their goods."

Nate.—The Committee, appointed to prepare a scheme of boycott of British goods made in the British Empire, did absolutely nothing to carry out the terms of the resolution.

This agitation regarding Kenya died a natural death as would appear from the subsequent events of the year. The Special Session of the Congress held at Delhi appointed a Committee to prepare a draft report for the boycott of Empire goods. The Committee prepared a report which was published in the *Bombay Chronicle* of 19th December, 1923. This report was submitted to the Cocanada Congress, which however, took no action on this report and passed the following resolution to shelve the question:—

" This Congress (Cocanada, December 1923) sends the greetings and the sympathies of the nation to the Indian Community in Kenya and while adhering to the opinion that unless *Swarajya* is won for India the sufferings and grievances of Indians abroad cannot be properly remedied; it authorises Mrs. Naidu and Mr. George Joseph to attend the forthcoming Indian Congress in Kenya and study the situation and advise the Indian Community there as to what steps they should take in carrying on their struggle against the insults and injustices imposed upon them."

Delhi Special Session—September, 1923

An extraordinary Session of the Indian National Congress was held in Delhi on 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th September, 1923. Dr. M. A. Ansari was Chairman of the Reception Committee and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was President of the Session.

The following resolutions were passed by the Congress at the Special Session:—

I. While reaffirming its adherence to the principle of non-violent non-co-operation, this Council-entry. Congress declares that such Congressmen as have no religious or other conscientious objections against entering the Legislatures are at liberty to stand as candidates and to exercise their right of voting at the forthcoming elections; and this Congress therefore suspends all propaganda against entering the Councils.

The Congress at the same time calls upon all Congressmen to redouble their efforts to carry out the constructive programme of their great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, by united endeavour to achieve *Swaraj* at the earliest possible moment.

II	*	*	*	*
III.	*	*	*	*

IV. This Congress resolves that the following Committee be formed forth-with to organise an effective campaign of civil disobedience and to advise and regulate the action of Civil Disobe- Provinces organizing similar provincial or local campaigns for the speedy attainment dience. of *Swaraj* which alone can guarantee the restoration of Mahatma Gandhi and other political prisoners to liberty as well as the freedom of the Jazirat-ul-Arab and a satisfactory settlement of the Punjab wrongs.—

- (1) Dr. Kitchlew.
- (2) Maulana Mohammad Ali.

- (3) Deshbandhu Das.
- (4) Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel.
- (5) Sardar Mangal Singh.
- (6) Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.
- (7) Babu Rajendra Prasad.
- (8) Sjt. Vithalbhai Patel.
- Dr. Kitchlew to be convener.

V. This Congress strongly condemns the action of the Government of India in bringing about the forced abdication of His Highness the Maharaja Ripudaman Singh Malvendra Bahadur of Nabha as being unjust and unconstitutional and establishing a very dangerous precedent for the Indian States.

Nabha Abdication.

The Congress conveys its heartfelt sympathy of His Highness the Maharaja Saheb in the grave wrong that has befallen him.

VI. * * * * *

VII. Resolved that a Committee consisting of the following five gentlemen be appointed to revise the constitution and rules of the Indian National Congress and present their report to the Session of the Congress at Cocanada:—

Revision of Constitution.

- (1) George Joseph.
- (2) Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.
- (3) Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose.
- (4) Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.
- (5) Sjt. P. D. Tandon.
- Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to be the convener.

VIII. This Congress resolves that the following gentlemen be appointed to prepare a draft of the National Pact to circulate it for opinion among leading representatives and influential persons of direct communities in the country and after consideration of the opinions received to submit their report to the All-India Congress Committee for disposal at the Cocanada Congress:—

- (1) Lala Lajpatrai (in case he cannot work on the Committee on account of illness, Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya).
- (2) Sardar Mehtab Singh.
- (3) Dr. M. A. Ansari (convener).

IX. *To the Press.*—This Congress resolves that the Working Committee be instructed to issue a public manifesto inviting the attention of the Indian newspapers to the extreme necessity of exercising great restraint when dealing with matters likely to affect inter-communal relations and also in reporting events and incidents relating to inter-communal dissensions and commenting on them, and to appeal to them not to adopt an attitude that may prove detrimental to the best interests of India and may embitter the relations between different communities.

This Congress also resolves that the Working Committee be instructed to appoint in each Province a small committee which should request such newspapers as publish any matter likely to create inter-communal dissensions that they should desist from such a course of action and if in spite of their friendly advice no useful result is achieved to proclaim such newspapers. This Congress further resolves that in case such newspapers do not even then alter their attitude, a boycott of them by Congressmen be declared in the last resort.

X. This Congress resolves that in the headquarters of every district mixed committees be established under the supervision of District Congress Committees in consultation with Khilafat Committees, Hindu Sabhas and other responsible local association with a view to the maintenance of peace and security throughout the Districts and in case of any incident likely to disturb such peace and security to endeavour to minimise its evil consequences and provide for speedy and satisfactory settlement and further to encourage people on case of any provocation to conduct themselves with restraint and refer the matter to such committee for redress of their grievances instead of themselves resorting to retaliatory measures.

XI. This Congress congratulates the Akalis on the courageous stand they are making against the campaign of repression carried on by the Punjab Government in the Doba under the pretext of putting down the Babbar Akalis culminating in the arrest of the Enquiry Committee sent by the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and expresses its full sympathy with them in their gallant struggle.

XII.(a) This Congress reiterates its conviction that the widespread production and use of *khaddar*, that is, hand-spun and handwoven cloth, is essential for the economic betterment of India and therefore calls upon the people of India to redouble their efforts to make spinning and the use of *khaddar* universal throughout the country and thus bring about a complete boycott of all foreign cloth.

(b) In addition to cloth, the Congress further calls upon the people to encourage home manufactures by purchasing Indian-made goods only and wherever possible avoiding the purchase and use of foreign goods.

(c) In view of the fact that India is at present carrying on a struggle for freedom and England in thwarting her putting every impediment in her way and Indians are insulted and treated as helots in British Colonies and Dominions, this Congress calls upon the people specially to avoid purchase of goods produced in Great Britain, her Colonies and Dominions and thus to bring about a complete boycott of such British goods as may be recommended by the Committee appointed in clause (d).

(d) In order to give effect to clauses (b) and (c) of this resolution and to determine the most feasible method of encouraging Indian manufactures and the boycott of British goods in particular this Congress appoints the following Committee and empowers it to issue the necessary directions in this behalf:—

- (1) Pt. Motilal Nehru.
- (2) Maulana Mohammad Ali.
- (3) Sjt. Vithalbhai J. Patel.
- (4) Sjt. J. K. Mehta.
- (5) Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose.
- (6) Seth Umar Sobhani.
- (7) Dr. Kitchlew.
- (8) Sjt. N. C. Kelkar.
- (9) Sjt. D. Gopala Krishnayya.

XIII. This Congress offers its hearty congratulations to the organisers of the Flag Satyagraha movement at Nagpur and the volunteers for having by their heroic a sacrifice and suffering upheld the honour of country by carrying the fight to a successful finish.

Nagpur Flag
Satyagraha.

XIV. This Congress looks upon the decision of the British Government about the status of Indians in Kenya as being in keeping with England's determination to rule India as a subject country and therefore this Congress urges on the people of India to redouble their efforts to wipe off the stigma of subjections as early as possible.

This Congress further asks the Working Committee to organise educative propaganda in the country regarding the position of India in the Colonies and to help Kenya Indians in any practical programme.

XV. This Congress welcomes back Lala Lajpat Rai, Maulana Mohammad Ali and other prisoners released from jail and expresses its deep appreciation of their sacrifices for the national cause.

Welcome to
released prisoners.

XVI. This Congress congratulates the Turkish people and their great leader Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha on the successful termination of their war for freedom and regards this victory as a sure presage of the removal of all alien control from the Jazirat-ul-Arab and the freedom of all the nations of the East.

Turkish
Victory.

XVII. This Congress, while expressing its profound regret that during the last twelve months the inhabitants of certain towns and cities made attacks upon and caused injuries to persons, properties and places of worship of their neighbours in violation of the principles of religion and humanity and, while believing that such attacks deserve the strongest condemnation, resolves that a committee be formed for the purpose of visiting the places where disturbances have occurred and investigating matters with a view to fix the responsibility for them and publicly condemn those who are found guilty of such reprehensible acts.

Hindu-Muslim
relations.

This Congress further resolves that the said Committee be asked to recommend such measures as are calculated to prevent in future similar incidents so that all communities may practise their respective religions without wounding the feelings of each other and may co-operate in national matters with mutual confidence and goodwill.

Resolved that the Committee shall consist of—

- (1) Abbas Tyebji Saheb.
- (2) T. A. K. Sherwani.
- (3) Babu Rajendra Prasad.
- (4) Sjt. Purshottamdas Tandon.
- (5) Master Sunder Singh (Lyallpuri).
- (6) George Joseph.
- (7) Syt. B. F. Bharucha.

Resolved that the above Committee be requested to visit different places beginning with Saharanpur and report within two months to the All-India Congress Committee.

XVIII." This Congress resolves that a Committee be formed to enquire into incidents connected with " Shudhi" and " Anti-Shudhi " movements to visit places wherever coercion, intimidation, exercise of undue pressure or influence, or use of methods to proselytisation. Inconsistent with such religious objects, is afleged or Suspected and to recommend such means as it thinks necessary for the prevetion of such practices.

This Congress also calls upon the Committee to furnish a complete or *ad interim* report of its investigations and findings to the All-India Congress Committee before the 15th of December 1923 and that it should denounce the parties guilty of corrupt practices. The Congress resolves further that the Committee shall consist of the following:—

- (1) Pandit Sitaram (Meerut).
- (2) Pandit Nekiram Sharma (Bhiwani).
- (3)Maulvi Mohamed Shafi (Behar).
- (4)Maulvi Zulfekar Ali Khan (Qadian).

XIX. This Congress resolves that its local committees be instructed to form under their supervision and control local corps of Civic Guards (open to members of all communities) throughout the country for the maintenance of peace and order for the performance of other civic duties. The Congress also resolves that its local committee be also instructed to induce and encourage the people to take up physical culture and to provide necessary facilities of this purpose, to enable the Indians to undertake their self-defence.

This Congress further instructs its Working Committee to frame rules for the formation and working of the Civic Guard.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Delhi on the 19th September 1923

- I.Resolved that a sum of Rs. 5,000 be sanctioned for the Civil Disobedience Committee appointed by the Special Congress at Delhi, and that the amount be remitted without delay to Dr. Kitchlew, convener of the Committee.
- II.Resolved that a sum of Rs. 2,500 each be sanctioned for the Hindu- Muslim Differences Committee and the Conversion Enquiry Committee and that the amounts be remitted to Tassaduq Ahmed Khan Sherwani Saheb, convener of the former, and Pandit Nekiram Sharma, convener of the latter Committee.
- III.Resolved that the 50 per cent of the Tilak Swaraj Fund reserved for civil disobedience may be utilised for the efficient organisation of workers.

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V	*	*	*	*
VI	*	*	*	*

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Sabarmati on November 25th and 26th

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II. Read Syt. Hardikar's application for a grant for the Volunteers' Conference. Resolved that the Working Committee cannot give any funds for the Conference. If an organisation is brought into existence by his efforts,

whose constitution accepts the discipline of the Congress and is otherwise approved by the Working Committee, the question of the financial aid of such organisation may be considered.

III. Resolved that the Working Committee regrets it cannot sanction and further grants in view of the financial position of the Committee.

IV. The Akali situation was discussed and the resolutions of the informal conference held on the 14th November 1923 at Amritsar were read.

Resolved (a) that the Working Committee adopts the following resolutions recommended by the informal conference at Amritsar:—

" This Conference declares that the attack made by the Government on the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and the Akali Dal is a direct challenge to the right of free association of all Indians for nonviolent activities and being convinced that the blow is aimed at all movements for freedom, resolves to stand by the Sikhs and calls upon Hindus, Mus-salmans, Christians, Parsees and all people of India to render all possible assistance to the Sikhs in the present struggle."

This Conference is further of opinion that an Akali Sahayak Committee consisting of the following members with power to co-opt be appointed to do effective propaganda all over the country regarding the Akali situation and to render necessary assistance including financial aid to the Akalis:—

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. | (15) Seth Jamanalal Bajaj. |
| (2) Syt. Rajagopalchari. | (16) Syt. Aney. |
| (3) Syt. T. Prakasam. | (17) Syt. Rajendra Prasad. |
| (4) Syt. Deshpande. | (18) Deshbandhu Das. |
| (5) Syt. T. R. Krishnaswami Iyer. | (19) Syt. Phookan. |
| (6) Syt. N. C. Kelkar. | (20) Maulana Mohammad Ali. |
| (7) Syt. Vallabhbhai Patel. | (21) Maulana Shaukat Ali. |
| (8) Syt. Jairamdas. | (22) Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. |
| (9) Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. | (23) Syt. B. F. Bharucha. |
| (10) Pandit Motilal Nehru. | (24) Prof. Gidwani. |
| (11) Dr. Kitchlew. | (25) Syt. George Joseph. |
| (12) Lala Lajpatrai. | (26) Hakim Ajmal Khan. |
| (13) Dr. Ansari. | (27) Deshbhakta Venkatappayya. |
| (14) Syt. Raghavendra Rao. | (28) Pandit Santanam. |

(b) The Working Committee requests Dr. Kitchlew, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Acharya Gidwani to organise publicity and render all possible help and to keep the Working Committee and country in touch with all developments. A sum of Rs. 1,000 is placed at their disposal for the present towards expenses in this direction.

(c) The Working Committee requests the Akali Sahayak Committee to raise a special fund in order to render financial assistance to the Akalis in terms of the above resolution and authorises it to utilise the Congress organisation for the purpose.

V. * * * *

VI. Resolved that the manifesto hereto appended be adopted and the same be issued to the press on behalf of the Working Committee:—

Manifesto

"The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress beg to invite the attention of the Indian newspapers to the imperative necessity of exercising great restraint when dealing with matters likely to affect inter-communal

relations which have of late become strained owing to a variety of causes artificial as well as natural. Be these justifiable or plausible, they need prompt investigation and remedy if the nation is to march on unimpeded to its goal. It needs little efforts to realise that newspapers take the major share in shaping the disposition of all forms of national endeavour and this is particularly so, in our country at the present moment when the organisation of public life cannot yet be safely said to have emerged out of its infancy. Inter-communal Unity has been repeatedly emphasised to be the essential condition for substantial progress in the path of freedom. And newspapers, be they of purely political aim or social or religious interests, can little afford to ignore their responsibilities in promoting, securing or safeguarding inter-communal amity."

VII.	*	*	*	*
VIII.	*	*	*	*

IX. Resolved that the draft constitution and rules for Civic Guards be circulated amongst the Provincial Committees for consideration and report.

X. Resolved that Syt. George Joseph be requested to represent the Congress at the ensuing Sessions of the East Africa Indian National Congress at Mombasa to be held during the Christmas of this year. He is also requested to study the situation and report. A sum of Rs. 2,500 is placed at his disposal for the purpose. Pandit Banarsidas Chaturvedi is requested to accompany him on his tour.

XI.	*	*	*	*
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XII. Resolved that the Working Committee approved the action of the President regarding Berar Provincial Congress Committees' resolution calling upon subordinate Congress organisations to help Swaraj Party candidates in the elections to the Legislatures.

XIII. Dr. Mahmood's report regarding the Poona election disputes is confirmed.

XIV.	*	*	*	*
XV.	*	*	*	*
XVI.	*	*	*	*

XVII. A sum of Rs. 1,500 be sanctioned for the expenses of the All-India Congress Committee.

NON-CO-OPERATION HISTORY BOMBAY CITY, FROM THE COCANADA CONGRESS IN DECEMBER, 1923 TO THE BELGAUM CONGRESS IN DECEMBER, 1924

Cocanada Congress and its after-effects

The general review of the political situation in the year preceding the Session of the Cocanada Congress in December 1923, showed clearly that practically the whole year of 1923 was spent over the wrangle between the No-change and the Pro-change parties of the Congress. The temporary patch-up in favour of the Swaraj Party was the net result of the Special Session at Delhi which cleared the way of the Swarajists to enter the Councils without any hindrance from the no-changers. When the Cocanada Congress met in the last week of December 1923, the Swarajists had already gone into the Councils in large numbers. The Congressmen, however, were not free from doubts about the Non-co-operation resolution adopted at the Special Session at Delhi and it was questioned from many quarters whether there had been any change in the policy of the Congress.

Congress Policy and Programme

The Cocanada Congress therefore once more reaffirmed the Non-co-operation resolutions adopted at Calcutta, Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Gaya and Delhi. With regard to the policy of the Congress the Congress decided that the principle and policy of the Congress with regard to the triple boycott should remain unaltered and further declared that the said principle and policy formed the foundation of constructive work and appealed to the nation to carry out the programme of constructive work as adopted at Bardoli and prepare for the adoption of Civil Disobedience.

Congress Resolutions

The Cocanada Congress further passed resolutions regarding—

- (1) Indian National Pact.
- (2) Volunteer organisation.
- (3) Congress Departments.
- (4) Kenya.
- (5) Ceylon Labourers.
- (6) Akali Struggle.
- (7) Civil Disobedience Committee.
- (8) All-India Khaddar Board, etc.

Position of the two Parties and the General Set-back of the Non-co-operation Movement

It would thus appear that the Cocanada Congress did not in any way advance the programme of the country and the Congress workers in general and the no-changers in particular were despondent about carrying out the constructive programme for which they had made such unsatisfactory progress during the year preceding the Congress and after the incarceration of Mr. Gandhi. The Swarajists on the other hand were rather puffed up with the little success that they had at the elections for the Reformed Councils. It was generally believed that non-co-operation was dead and even the Indian National Congress, in the absence of Mr. Gandhi, would not be able to advance the progress of the country.

This being the position of the country after the Cocanada Congress the year 1924 commenced with a very indefinite programme before the people. Within a fortnight after the Congress was over, the news was received about the illness of Mr. Gandhi. It was on the 13th January 1924 that the people learnt with surprise and sorrow that Mr. Gandhi was removed from the Yeravada Jail and taken to the Sassoon Hospital, Poona, for an operation.

Mrs. Naidu's absence from Bombay and a lull in Political activities

Before the news of the illness of Mr. Gandhi reached Bombay Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the President of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, who was supposed to have done something in Bombay towards the fulfilment of the Congress Programme, had already sailed per *S. Karagola* for Mombassa on 9th January 1924, as the "President-elect" of the East African Congress at Mombassa. She did not return to Bombay until the 12th July 1924. The result was that there was a general lull in the political activities of the city for nearly six months.

Organisation of the Swarajists in the Bombay Council

In the meanwhile the Swarajist members of the Bombay Legislative Council held a private meeting on January 13th at the residence of Mr. Jayakar. At this meeting the office-bearers of the Swaraj Party in the Bombay Council were elected and the following policy to be pursued by the Swarajists in the Councils was laid down:—

Policy in the Council

" In the event of the Government refusing to entertain the demand suggested at a meeting of the General Council of the Swaraj Party at Cocanada and published in the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 3rd and 4th January 1924, the members of the Party will resort to a policy of continuous obstruction.

No office shall be accepted by the members.

No member shall accept Presidentship or Deputy Presidentship.

No member shall serve on any Commission or Standing Committee or Advisory Board.

The members can become members of the Select Committee, can take part in the voting for the membership of the Select Committee and can obstruct the work of the Select Committee.

The members can put interpellations.

The members can move a resolution with the permission of the Executive Committee.

All demands for grants in the Council should be opposed ; but it shall be open to the members to abstain from voting on any item if there are special reasons. With the permission of the executive committee, certain items of the budget (such as education) can be voted for if there is a chance of any bargain with the other members of different views who promise to help the Swarajists in other items. It will be recommended to the Central Council that M.L.C.s of the Party be permitted to accept travelling allowance etc."

Congress Working Committee, Bombay

The Working Committee of the Congress met in Bombay on January 30th and the following two days under the presidency of Mohammad Ali. The following resolution in connection with Mr. Gandhi's illness was passed :—

" The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress is deeply Thankful to merciful providence that Mahatma Gandhi has passed safely through his recent grave illness and that his further services in the cause of freedom have thus been vouchsafed to the nation. The Committee appeals to the nation that in order to prepare for a great struggle to be carried on all over the country to wrench from Government his and the nation's freedom and establish *swaraj*, a supreme effort should be made to strengthen the Congress organisation in every respect and for this purpose the month beginning from 18th February and ending on 18th March next should be observed as the Gandhi month and devoted to intensive national work by every man and woman desiring the emancipation of the country. The Working Committee calls upon all Indians to put forth the utmost endeavour to clothe the nation in *khaddar*, to enrol Congress members, and to collect money for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. All Congress Committees are called upon to organise work at once in order to carry out the above resolution."

The other resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee were to the following effect:—

Financial

Joint Secretary (G. B. Deshpande) to go into the finances of all Provincial Congress Committee as ascertained from the auditor.

Labour Organisation

Nothing to be done in view of the weakness of the present All-India Congress Committee finances.

South Africa

Resolved in response to a cable from South Africa to authorise Mrs. Sarojini Naidu to proceed there from East Africa.

Civic Guards

The Volunteers' Organisation of Dr. Hardikar to go on with the recruitment and training of Civic Guards etc.

Akalis

The Congress having sanctioned Rs. 25,000 to sufferers in this movement resolved that Rs. 12,000 be now paid out.

National Pact

Rs. 1,000 voted to Dr. Ansari and Lajpatrai for expenses incurred with the framing of the National Pact.

Mr. Gandhi's release

The news of Mr. Gandhi's release on 5th February 1924 reached Bombay the same day and it was received with the greatest delight. By way of rejoicing the local markets such as Cloth Market and Share Bazar and Cotton Association were closed. A large number of enthusiasts travelled up to Poona on February 5th and on subsequent day to pay homage to Mr. Gandhi. From 6th February to 10th February six public meetings were held in Bombay by way of rejoicing for the release. Prayers were also offered for his early recovery. In accordance with instructions of the Congress Working Committee attempts to celebrate the Gandhi month, commencing from 18th February and ending on 18th March, were made by Congress workers in the city. On 18th February two public meetings were held. Between the 23rd February and 10th March 1924 four public meetings were held by the District Congress Committees of the city and appeals to carry out the Congress constructive programme were made. On the morning of March 11th, Mr. Gandhi accompanied by S. G. Banker and Mrs. Anusuya alighted at Dadar Railway Station and motored to the bungalow of Narottam Morarji at Juhu. A small exhibition of *khaddar* and *swadeshi* goods was opened at Mandvi, New Chinch Bunder Road, during the Gandhi month.

Mr. Gandhi at
Juhu.

Gandhi and " Young India "

Towards the end of March Mr. Gandhi declared that he would resume the editorship of *Young India* and *Navjivan* and appealed to the public through the press to turn their love for him to better account by taking up spinning and *khaddar* propaganda instead of visiting him at Juhu. The circulation of

Young India had fallen away from 21,500 to only 3,000 after Gandhi's imprisonment. For the convenience of the readers of this paper an arrangement to open a branch office for the sale of these papers was made in Bombay at Princess Street

National Week

In the beginning of April 1924 the Swarajists held a meeting at which N. C. Kelkar spoke on "The work of the Swarajists in the Councils and in the Assembly" under the presidency of Mr. M. R. Jayakar. During the National Week which commenced on April 6th and ended on April 13th, three public meetings were held and appeals to carry out the constructive programme were made by the speakers. On the last day of the National Week a small *khaddi* bazaar with about seven stalls was held at the Hall of the Marwadi Vidyalaya in conjunction with a ladies' meeting on that day.

Swarajists' Activities

In the meantime the Swarajists held two public meetings in Bombay in competition with the No-change Party's activities in connection with the observance of the National Week. The first of these meetings was held on 13th April, when about 1,000 persons attended and Pandit Motilal Nehru addressed the audience under the presidency of Vithalbhai J. Patel. The subject was "the political outlook", but the Pandit's speech dealt not with the future but with the past, namely, the obstructive tactics of the Swarajists in the Assembly Session.

As regards future action, he said, they had no definite plans but there would be a meeting on April 25th to decide on the next campaign. He referred to rumours that Dr. Gour was forming a new party and had already secured 29 members for it. He hoped Dr. Gour would let the Nationalist party know what he was doing so that they could reconsider their position.

The second meeting was held on April 18th, when the attendance was 500. The subject was "Council Deadlocks and their solution". Vithalbhai J. Patel opened the meeting in his, usual truculent style. "The Swarajists", he said, "are determined to obstruct. They are determined to make administration through the councils impossible". He thanked God that a Royal Commission had been refused but even had it been granted, the Swaraj Party would have had nothing to do with it. The only way to establish contact between the Government of India and the Swarajists was the Round Table Conference with national leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Lala Lajpatrai and Mohammad Ali. Pandit Motilal Nehru said that non-co-operation was not a fetish with him. He was prepared to co-operate with Government on his own terms, namely, a Round Table Conference at which all parties in this country could be represented to determine the best constitution for India. Government said the British Parliament were to be the judges of each measure and advance. This the Swarajists repudiated. If any one expected anything from the British Parliament let him read the recent debate in the Commons. Viscount Curzon had said the Government of India should guarantee the position of the services for the next quarter of a century. So long as the services were strongly entrenched, there could never be any advance towards *Swaraj*. Viscount Curzon had said that only an infinitesimal portion of India's population had the franchise. The Swarajists, however, wanted the whole population to be enfranchised because that would only make their vote-hunting easier.

Again the Swaraj Party held three public meetings as detailed below:—

Date	Place	President	Attendance	Remarks
20th April 1924	Chaupati Sands	V.J. Patel	700	V.J. Patel said he favoured no-change in the Party tactics. Pandit Motilal Nehru likened the Party to Sippers and Miners clearing way obstacles in the path of progress of the people.
25th April 1924	Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall.	V.J. Patel	200	V. J. Patel said the Executive Council of the Party had decided to make no change in its policy. He emphasized, however, that there was no fundamental difference between Gandhi's programme and the Swaraj Party programme. Rangaswami Aiyenger (Madras) said the Prime Minister, the Under Secretary of States and Sir Malcolm Hailey all look up the attitude that India was to get self-government not by self-determination but by gift of the Imperial Parliament. The Swarajists had taken on themselves the demolition of Government by bureaucracy. Goswami (Bengal) denied there had been differences between the Independents and the Swarajists ; both parties had worked loyally with each other for the good of the country. He alluded also to Swarajist successes in Bengal.
25th April 1924	Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall.	V.J. Patel	200	V.J. Patel criticised the Moderates for sending Dr. Besant and the Honourable Mr. Shastri to England to represent India. He challenged their right to do so. J. M. Mehta likened Pandit Motilal Nehru to Cromwell. He said there must be no taxation without representation. Rangaswami Aiyengar said they wanted cash and not dry speeches from the Labour Party. If the Labour Party refuses to listen to them India must keep her powder of non-violent non-co-operation dry to start civil disobedience and a no-tax movement with. Goswami said that the more independent they were, the more the Labour Government would respect them for it.

The Swaraj Party All-India Executive Council meeting was held in Bombay on April 25th at Arya Bhawan when questions affecting (1) Swarajists' Policy, (2) Acceptance of office with a view to obstruction, (3) Possibility of fresh elections in the Central Provinces, (4) Swarajists' attitude to Tariff Bill, (5) Relations with Mr. Gandhi and (6) Raising of Swaraj Party Funds were discussed and disposed of.

Congress Working Committee in Bombay and Juhu

At this very time the Congress Working Committee also met in Bombay and at Juhu on April 23rd and 24th and disposed of various matters of Congress routine.

Gandhi and Swaraj Party

C.R. Das arrived in Bombay on 15th May 1924, and proceeded straight to Juhu to see Mr. Gandhi. A great deal of interest was taken in Bombay in the progress of the conversations between him and Mr. Gandhi. Pandit Motilal Nehru also took part in the conversations. The result of these conversations appeared later on in the two public statements, one by Mr. Gandhi and the other under the joint signatures of Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru.

All-India Congress Committee, Ahmedabad and Bombay

The next important event of the year was the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee convened at Ahmedabad on 27th June 1924. In connection with this meeting the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee convened a special meeting on 19th June in response to a requisition from the no-changers of Bombay. After a long discussion between the no-changers and those of the Swarajists view the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee passed the following resolution by a majority:—

" That this Committee (Bombay Provincial Congress Committee), while declaring once more its full faith in Mahatma Gandhi and his programme of non-violent non-co-operation, expresses the opinion that it is desirable in the interests of the effective execution of Congress resolutions that electors elect on all the Congress Executive bodies only those who in their persons carry out to the full. The Congress creed and the whole of the Congress Programme adopted for the time being. "

The All-India Congress Committee met at Ahmedabad on 27th June and the following two days The Working Committee of the Congress met there on 26th June.

Ahmedabad Resolutions endorsed

To consider the resolutions passed by the Ahmedabad Conference (All-India Congress Committee referred to above) the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee met on 16th July under the presidency of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu (who had returned to Bombay from her African tour on July 12th and who had been given great ovation by the Bombay public at two meetings held in her honour), S. G. Banker as Congress Secretary for *khaddar* had sent resolutions about the spinning of so much yarn by each member of the Executive and about keeping accounts of the same and reporting on defaulters. These resolutions were adopted but two of the Secretaries of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, namely, J. B. Patel and P. G. Sahasrabudhe also B. G. Kher and three other members of the Council, tendered their resignations as they were too busy to spin as required by the Ahmedabad resolutions. The meeting also considered a letter from the Congress Secretary (Jawaharlal Nehru) about the 5 boycotts. They were affirmed by the Bombay Provincial Congress

Committee and arrangements for spinning were later on made in Bombay at a meeting held on the 30th July. About 5 more members of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee also resigned on account of the reaffirmation of the Ahmedabad resolutions.

Mr. Gandhi recommended for Congress Presidentship

The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee did not stop at merely endorsing the Ahmedabad resolutions but it went a step further and as a proof of its confidence in Mr. Gandhi it recommended the name of Mr. Gandhi for the Presidentship of the Belgaum Congress. (If Mr. Gandhi did not accept the Presidentship, the name of Mrs. Naidu was recommended as the next candidate).

Gandhi in Bombay to receive Corporation Address

On the morning of August 29th, Mr. Gandhi came to Bombay to receive the Corporation address which was fixed for the same evening. On his arrival he was received with ovation by the President and members of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee. The Corporation address was presented to him at the Sir Cawasji Jehangir Hall on the evening of 29th August 1924. The hall was crowded to the fullest extent. After the Corporation address was read out by Mr. V. J. Patel, the President of the Corporation. Mr. Gandhi made a very short speech, first in Gujarati and then in

Gandhi
honoured by the
Parsi Rajkiya
Sabha.

English saying that he recognised no distinction between religion and politics and that politics without religion was dangerous. The proceedings lasted only half an hour, both the address and the reply being brief. On August 31st the Parsi Rajkiya Sabha held a meeting in honour of Mr. Gandhi. The other object of the meeting was to raise money for Malabar Relief. Admission was by ticket from the sale of

which nearly Rs. 4,000 were realised. In addition other contributions amounted to Rs. 2,000. The attendance was about 1,500. M. R. Jayakar, Pickthall, famnadas Dwarkadas, B. F. Bharucha, Mrs. Naidu and others spoke in praise of Mr. Gandhi. The audience signified their displeasure at Jamnadas Dwarkadas referring to the guest of hoi our "Gandhiji" instead of as "Mahatma" and when it came to his turn to speak, Mr. Gandhi vigorously upbraided the audience for their conduct.

Gandhi speech.

He went on to say that he objected to intolerance of every sort and that he could not bring himself to hate even Dyer or O'Dwayer although he did not like the things they had done. As regards Malabar Relief they could have every reliance that the money would be well spent by Mr. G. K. Devdhar who was administering relief funds. After speaking for about 40 minutes in Gujarati he spoke for five minutes in English and said he had a terrible side to his nature which had estranged his friends, his dear wife, his own son and his brother. He also had a side to his nature which was compounded of nothing but affection. There was no ill-will and no hatred in it. If he had offended the Englishmen with whom he had worked in South Africa, it was because he loved them as such as he loved his own people, but they had had to feel the terrible side of his nature, just as his own people had had to. Alluding to the controversy between him and

Gandhi and
the Swarajists.

the Swarajists he said it was his fixed resolve that neither in Belgaum nor here would there be any effort on his part to divide the country; if there was any question of dividing the country, he would be the underdog and be no party to it.

Gandhi and the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee

The same afternoon at 3-00 p.m. Gandhi met the members of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee at their office when most of the members were

present. The Secretary read out the names of those members who had sent in the right amount of yarn. Questions were invited and Dr. Savarkar and J. B. Patel questioned his strictness of the spinning requisition. Mr. Gandhi said he could solve all their difficulties with single answer. If they were members of an institution, they were bound to carry out that institution's rules and regulations. If they could not do so, they stood self-condemned. In short his advice to them was to carry out the spinning resolution.

Gandhi at the National Girls' School

At 4 p.m. Mr. Gandhi presided over a prize distribution at Muzaffarabad Hall of the Girls' National School. About 150 scholars and 150 parents and guardians were present. Mrs. Naidu distributed the prizes. Miss Tulaskar, the Principal, described their difficulties which had resulted in the school numbers falling from 370 to 150. Mr. Gandhi expressed his satisfaction at seeing four Chamar boys who were being educated in the school. He appealed to the people not to be scared away but to show their faith in the removal of untouchability by continuing to send their children to the school.

Gandhi at Khaddar Bhandar

On Tuesday, 2nd September, Mr. Gandhi visited the Khadi Bhandar at Princess Street. In the evening he paid a brief visit to the National Medical College where he appealed for *khaddar* and for contributions to the institution.

Gandhi at Mandvi

At 9-00 p.m. the same evening he attended a meeting organised in his honour by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and held in the godown of Ramchandra Ramvallabh in Dana Bundar. Mrs. Naidu presided and the attendance was about 5,000. Mr. Naidu said it was not necessary for a lot of people to speak that evening. She would ask the audience to hear Mahatma Gandhi whom they were anxious to see and listen to. Mr. Gandhi said he had no message for them other than the message of 1920-21. The Congress was divided and the people were down-hearted.

Gandhi admits his defeat

Their differences were unfortunate as they had a common object. Rather than have a continuance of the quarrel he would admit his defeat. He had written in this sense to Pandit Motilal Nehru and hoped for a perfect unity at the next Congress. He expected the people to use *khaddar*, to ply the *charkha*, and to observe the Hindu-Muslim unity. He also wanted them to do away with untouchability. If people were unable to do any of these things, he would have no alternative but to return to his *ashram* and do penance.

Gandhi leaves Bombay

Mr. Gandhi left Bombay by the night train on September 3rd for Poona and arrived back at Dadar on the morning of September 5th where he visited the Ganapati Mandap and addressed an audience of 500. He said he gathered that the public were not in a determined mood to carry out his programme although they were anxious for *swaraj*. He did not mind others entering Councils or lending their children to any schools they fancied; but he did expect every body to carry out his tripartite programme of *khaddar*, Hindu-Muslim unity and the removal of untouchability. He asked for a show of hands of those who acted up to the programme on these points. A very small number of hands were raised. He said he was sorry to see them in that state and asked them to take his advice to heart. After receiving a purse of Rs. 51, some yarn and clothes for Malabar relief he left for Surat by the 7-45 a.m. train.

Gandhi's Fast for 21 days

About this time the number of communal riots went on increasing steadily and Mr. Gandhi proceeded to Delhi from Ahmedabad in September to see if he could solve the communal problem. There he heard of the Kohat tragedy and in a helpless frame of mind imposed on himself a fast of 21 days at Delhi where he was guest of Mr. Mohammad Ali. Mr. Mohammad Ali, as President of the Congress, thereupon summoned a Unity Conference which duly met and passed resolutions which looked excellent on paper but which were only illusory, as on the day Mr. Gandhi broke his fast, serious riots broke out in the United Provinces. Gandhi's fast was heralded in Bombay by the following observances :

Prayers for Gandhi's long life

1. The Native Share Bazaar did no business on September 25th out of respect for Gandhi's fast,
2. Public meeting was held by about 30 ladies on 25th September, praying for his long life.
3. Meeting at Mandvi on September 25th, praying for his long life.
4. Four public meetings were held on 28th September to offer prayers for his long life at different places in Bombay.
5. The Jains of Mandvi offered prayers from 1st to 7th October in their temple at Kharek Bazaar in order that Mr. Gandhi might survive the ordeal. To celebrate the termination of the week of special prayers the Mandvi District Congress Committee organised a procession of 500 persons in Bombay.
6. On October 8th two public meetings were held in Bombay to celebrate " Unity Day " and " The breaking of Mr. Gandhi's fast." One of them was ladies' meeting (attended by 200 ladies) and other was a public meeting at Chaupati where K. P. Khadilkar, V. J. Patel, Khawaja Kamaluddin, Mrs. Hodgkinson and others spoke on unity before an audience of about 2,000 people.

Bombay and the Bengal Ordinance

The next important event of the year that affected Bombay city was the application in Bengal of the Bengal Ordinance. The political agitation in respect of this was started in the following circumstances:

The *Bombay Chronicle* of 29th October contained the Bengal leaders' appeal for protest meetings all over the country on Friday, October 31st, and for *Hartal* the next day. The same day's issue of the *Chronicle* contained a letter from R. G. Tripathi of the Girgaon District Congress Committee proposing that " the whole country should be upon its legs and declare Saturday as an All-India Hartal Day ". Tripathi also wrote to the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee asking what they purposed to do. The Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee Jivraj Gokuldas Nensey, consulted Vithalbhai J. Patel, who had by that time received a telegram from Mr. Gandhi not to make any demonstration. V. J. Patel arranged with J. G. Nensey that there should be no *Hartal* in Bombay but that a protest meeting under the joint auspices of the Bombay Swaraj Party and the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee should be held on Saturday, November 1st.

This meeting took place in the Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall under the presidency of Vithalbhai J. Patel and was attended by about 600 persons including 12 Bengalis. The speakers were all Swaraj Party men except K. P. Khadilkar

and Shaukat Ali. The speeches were commonplace. Almost all the speakers condemned the repressive policy of the Bengal Government and appealed to the people to join the Swaraj Party, to suppress which the Ordinance was passed.

On November 2nd the Mandvi District Congress Committee held a meeting at the Cutchi Dasa Mahajanwadi at which the audience numbered only 200. The chief speakers were Vithalbhai J. Patel, J. M. Mehta, Shaukat Ali, Shuaib Qureshi and Aga Mohammad Safdar, one of the Secretary of the Central Khilafat Committee.

Vithalbhai J. Patel expressed his disappointment at the smallness of the attendance. He said that if the people had any real sympathy they should have turned out in large numbers. Aga Mohammad Safdar said that by the Bengal Ordinance Lord Reading's Government had done which Indians themselves could not do, namely, to settle communal strifes and bring about unity.

The Council of Bombay Presidency Association also condemned the repressive policy of the Bengal Government at their private meeting held in the first week of November.

On November 12th about 60 women of Bombay attended a meeting held under the auspices of the Rashtriya Stree Sabha at Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall and assured the Bengalis of the support of the Bombay women in their struggle against the repressive measures.

On November 16th a meeting held under the auspices of the Swadharma Swaraj Sabha, a very insignificant association at Hira Baugh, also condemned the repressive policy of the Bengal Government. The attendance at this meeting was only about 25.

All-Party Conference in Bombay

In the meantime Mr. Mohammad Ali, as President of the Congress, had convened a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay on 21st and 22nd November. In response to this appeal the All-India leaders, representing various parties, visited Bombay to attend the All-Party Leaders' Conference held at Muzaffarabad Hall on November 21st, 22nd and 23rd.

Mr. Gandhi arrived in Bombay on 20th November. Before attending the Conference the next day he had lengthy interviews among others with C. Y. Chintamani and Rao Bahadur Duple (Berar) of the National Liberal Federation. Gandhi expressed his willingness to give to the Liberals every possible latitude to rejoin the Congress. The Liberals decided at their Council meeting held that evening to attend the Conference.

The All-Party Conference

The All-Party Conference was held in Bombay at Muzaffarabad Hall on 21st November, 1924. The proceedings of the Party Conference commenced at the appointed time and nearly 275 members of the All India Congress Committee and about 200 persons of different political parties and outsiders attended the Conference. About 50 persons belonging to no party, such as solicitors, doctors and merchants, were also present. Prominent amongst those present were:—

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (1) M. K. Gandhi. | (5) Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. |
| (2) Mohammad Ali. | (6) Lady Emily Lutyens. |
| (3) Shaukat Ali. | (7) The Right Honourable Mr. Sastri. |
| (4) Mrs. Besant. | (8) Sir Dinshaw Petit. |

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (9) Pandit Motilal Nehru. | (25) M. A. Jinnah. |
| (10) B. G. Pal. | (26) M. R. Jayakar. |
| (11) J. B. Petit. | (27) C. R. Das. |
| (12) Jamnadas Dwarkadas. | (28) G. B. Deshpande. |
| (13) Kanji Dwarkadas. | (29) A. N. Surve. |
| (14) Sir Purshottam Thakordas. | (30) Marmaduke Pickthall. |
| (15) C. R. Reddy. | (31) B. Chakravarti. |
| (16) S. Satyamurthy. | (32) Dr. Ansari. |
| (17) K. P. Khadilkar. | (33) Abul Kalam Azad. |
| (18) K. F. Nariman | (34) The Honourable Mr. Sethna. |
| (19) B. N. Motiwalla. | (35) Dr. Sukhia. |
| (20) K. Natrajan. | (36) Hakim Ajmal Khan. |
| (21) C. Y. Chintamani. | (37) S. A. Brelvi. |
| (22) B. S. Kamat. | (38) M. K. Patel. |
| (23) Vithalbhai J. Patel. | (39) Dr. N. D. Savarkar. |
| (24) Vallabhbhai J. Patel. | |

Mohammad Ali, as President of the Congress, opened the Conference by welcoming the representatives of different political parties and suggestion that Sir Dinshaw Petit be elected the Chairman of the Conference as he belonged to no party. His suggestion was accepted and Sir Dinshaw Petit took the chair. After introductory remarks by the Chairman, Gandhi proposed the following resolution:—

" That a small committee consisting of the leaders of the several parties represented at the Conference be appointed for the preparation of a draft resolution for submission to the Conference, with reference to the repressive measures adopted by the Government of Bengal with the concurrence and approval of the Government of India, the Committee to report to the Chairman at or about 10 p.m. what resolution they should frame."

Pandit Motilal Nehru seconded the resolution. R. Venkatram, ex-Assistant Editor of the *Chronicle*, opposed it. Mr. K. Natrajan supported the resolution. Mrs. Besant in a speech tried to justify the passing of the Ordinance. Mrs. Besant was immediately attacked by Pandit K. Malaviya and S. Satyamurthy. A.N. Surve objected to Gandhi's resolution being allowed the first place on the agenda of the day, on the ground that the principal business before the Conference was the unity of all parties and that the question should have been taken up first. He found one or two supporters of his views. Gandhi replied that the object of putting this resolution first was to see whether it was possible for them to come to a common decision which was accepted to all. He argued that if it was possible for them to agree to his proposition, it would then be possible for them to find a common platform.

Babu Girish Chandra complained that if the Conference was supposed to be an All-Party Conference, the Communist Party should have been invited to the Conference. Mrs. Naidu replied that two invitation cards had already been issued to the individuals who represented the paper *Socialist* in Bombay.

Eventually Gandhi's resolution was put to the vote and carried by a majority. The following committee was appointed to draft the resolution:—

Sir Dinshaw Petit, M. K. Gandhi, V. J. Patel, C. R. Das, Mrs. Besant, Srinivas Sastri, C. Y. Chintamani, M. A. Jinnah, J. B. Petit, C. R. Reddy, B. C. Pal, Motilal Nehru, Ramaswamy Mudaliar, Lala Barkishen Lal, K. Natrajan, A. N. Surve, Sir Purshottamdas Thakordas, Dr. B. S. Munje, Dr. Ansari, Abul Kalam Azad, B. S. Kamat and C. V. Narsinha Raju.

The following was the text of the resolution adopted by the above committee:—

Bengal Ordinance condemned

(a) While firmly of opinion that anarchical organisation can never secure Swaraj to the people of India, and while disapproving and condemning most emphatically such organisation if any, this Conference representing all classes and communities of India and every variety of political opinion views with strongest disapproval and condemns the action of the Governor-General in promulgating the Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance of 1924, as such extraordinary measure, being a direct invasion upon individual liberty, should not have been enacted without the sanction of the Legislature and as it easily lends itself, at the hands of the Executive, to grave abuses resulting in implicating innocent persons and in interfering with constitutional political activity, as past experience of similar measures has repeatedly demonstrated.

(b) This Conference urges the immediate withdrawal of Ordinance and the trial, if necessary, and in accordance with the ordinary law, of the persons detained under it.

(c) This Conference further urges that Regulation III of 1818 which gives the Government powers of arresting and confining persons suspected of public crimes, without warrants, without trial, and without statement of reasons for such arrest and confinement, should be forthwith withdrawn.

(d) This Conference records its conviction that the present political situation in India is due to the denial of just rights, long overdue, of the people, and that the speedy establishment of Swaraj is the only effective remedy therefor.

The second day's proceedings of the All-Party Conference commenced at 12 noon on November 22nd at Muzaffarabad Hall under the presidency of the Right Honourable Srinivas Sastri in the absence of Sir Dinshaw Petit on account of ill-health. The Conference proceeded to discuss the resolution drafted by the Committee the previous night in connection with the Bengal Ordinance. C. Y. Chintamani in moving the said resolution made a lengthy speech condemning the Ordinance and emphasizing the evil intent of Government in issuing it after the Legislative Assembly had dispersed.

Bepin Chandra Pal seconding the resolution said that Government conducted political prosecutions by relying on the evidence of Police Reports, of Police spies, and on the statement procured from Secret Service agents. That being so, Government could not produce the Secret Service agents but had to rely on Ordinances. The Secret Service evidence, he said, came from all ranks of society and as it was impolitic to produce that evidence in a Court of Law, Government dealt with the offenders concerned through special Ordinances, which were against all sense of liberty. Government, he argued, gave cause to the people to make a revolution and to develop it into a bloody revolution.

George Joseph suggested that the resolution be so amended as to express condemnation of the conduct of those also who either instigated the people to commit anarchical acts or who countenanced the commission of such acts. Pandit Motilal Nehru said that no sensible man would forgive the commission of anarchical acts, for he added, such acts were like diseases and he believed that a disease was a disease and that whatever be the cause of the disease, that cause did not make the disease any the less the disease. Similarly a crime was a crime whatever the motive that lay behind it.

Sardar Mangal Singh, an Akali leader, said that he would support the resolution out of sympathy for the innocent victims of the Bengal Ordinance.

Shaukat Ali made an incoherent speech in which were sandwiched remarks on domestic, communal and political points.

The resolution was wound up by a speech of C. R. Das who tried to prove that there was no case of a political offender in which the witnesses, the jury, the assessors or the judge were terrorised by anarchists. He said that anarchy rose out of the conduct of Government, such as that of Lord Curzon who once said that he could defy the Bengal agitators by one stroke of the pen. The consequence was that Bengal took up the challenge and the political agitation against the partition of Bengal went on increasing.

At the suggestion of Mrs. Besant the resolution was put to vote in three parts: (a) and (b) being taken together and (c) and (d) being taken separately. All the three parts of the resolution were passed.

The next business before the Conference was the appointment of the committee for the purpose of reuniting all the parties in the Congress and to prepare a scheme of swaraj including the solution of Hindu-Muslim unity and the like questions. Below is the text of the resolution moved by Gandhi and seconded by C. R. Das :

Resolution regarding uniting all Parties

This Conference appoints a committee consisting of the gentlemen named below to consider the best way of reuniting all political parties in the National Congress and to prepare a scheme of Swaraj including the solution of Hindu-Muslim and like questions in their political aspects and to report not later than March 31st, 1925, and to convene this Conference at a date not later than April 15th, 1925, the report of the Committee to be published in the press a fortnight before the Conference.

The members forming the Committee are M. K. Gandhi, Right Honourable Sastri, C. Y. Chintamani, S. Srinivas Iyengar, Sir Purshottamdas Thakordas, M. A. Jinnah, Joseph Baptista, Mohamed Ali, Abul Kalam Azad and about 12 others.

J. K. Mehta moved an amendment asking the Committee to report by 15th December 1924 but it was thrown out.

Note.—The consensus of opinion is that Gandhi has again fooled all the leaders in the Conference and has put off the evil by getting the two Committees appointed on two burning questions of the day, namely, the Bengal Ordinance and the unity of all parties.

Mohamed Ali then made an appeal to all the representatives in the Conference to sustain and strengthen the present unity by meeting at Belgaum, if not on a common platform at least in a common place. He also appealed to the various associations such as the Liberal Federation, Muslim League, etc., to hold their sessions at Belgaum. The representatives present there said that they would do their best to respond to Mohamed Ali's appeal. The Conference was then dissolved with the announcement that the All-India Congress Committee would meet at 12-00 noon to day and that after it was over, the Council of the Swaraj Party would hold its meeting at the same place.

The Committee appointed by the Conference to secure unity of all parties at the same place soon after the dissolution of the Conference to discuss its programme of work. The Committee decided to invite the several party

organisations throughout the country to submit by 20th December their respective conditions for re-entering the Congress together with their suggestions regarding the *swaraj* scheme.

Below are the names of members forming the Committee appointed at the All-Party Leader's Conference for the purpose of suggesting means to reunite all the parties in the Congress and to prepare a scheme of *swaraj* by the end of March 1925:

Committee to draw up a Scheme of Swaraj

1. M. K. Gandhi.
2. Right Honourable Mr. Sastri.
3. C. Y. Chintamani.
4. S. Srinivas Iyengar.
5. Sir Purshottamdas Thakordas.
6. M. A. Jinnah.
7. Joseph Baptista.
8. Mohamed Ali.
9. Abul Kalam Azad.
10. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.
11. T. V. Parvate.
12. Pandit Mohan Malaviya.
13. R. P. Paranjpe
14. Sir Sivaswamy Iyer.
15. S. A. Shinde.
16. C. R. Das.
17. Mahomed Yakub.
18. M. H. Kidwani.
19. President of the European Association.
20. President of the Anglo-Indian Association.
21. President of the Christian Association.
22. President of the Non-Brahmin Association.
23. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.
24. Hakim Ajmal Khan.
25. J. B. Petit.
26. Babu Bhagwandas.
27. N. C. Kelkar.
28. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.
29. Sardar Mangal Singh.
30. Lala Lajpatrai.
31. Pandit Motilal Nehru (Secretary).

To meet the expenses of the Committee the following donations have been promised:—

Rs. 5,000 by Lala Harkisan Lal.

Rs. 1,000 by M. R. Jayakar.

Rs. 1,000 by Srinivas Iyengar.

Rs. 500 by Non-Brahmin Party.

The Committee will meet at Delhi on the 15th January.

(This Committee meets at Delhi on 23rd January 1925).

Gandhi-Das-Nehru Pact ratified by the All-India Congress Committee

The All-India Congress Committee met at 12 noon on November 23rd at Muzaffarabad Hall to consider the *Gandhi-Das-Nehru Pact* drawn up at Calcutta. Mohamed Ali presided and about 200 members attended.

At the outset a resolution expressing condolence at the death of Bi Amma was passed.

After ascertaining the number of No-changers and Swarajist present M. K. Gandhi made a lengthy statement explaining the circumstances under which he signed the Pact with Das and Nehru at Calcutta and emphasizing the absolute necessity of arriving at a settlement between the No-changers and Swarajists. For a few minutes he took the No-changers aside and, persuaded them to accept his statement and in the mean while allowed the Swarajists time to consider their differences with No-changers. When the meeting resumed business, Gandhi made it clear that they should not move amendments but that they should either accept the whole agreement or reject *in toto*. Eventually the Pact was accepted, only two No-changers voting against. The proceedings then terminated.

Swaraj Party on the Gandhi-Das-Nehru Pact

After the All-India Congress Committee was over, the Council of the Swaraj Party met at the same place under the presidency of C. R. Das. About 50 Swarajists attended. The meeting lasted for about 40 minutes and the following resolutions were passed:—

(1) Resolved that the arrangement arrived at between Mahatma Gandhi and the Executive Council of the Swaraj Party at Calcutta be accepted.

(2) Resolved that Deshbandhu C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru be authorised to add a note to the following effect to the "Calcutta Agreement in consultation with Mahatma Gandhi":—

"This arrangement does not preclude any Congressmen who on conscientious grounds, desires to practice non-co-operation in person from doing so with prejudice to or interference with the activities of the Swaraj Party on behalf of the Congress."

It would thus appear that the question of achieving political unity was relegated to the background and ultimately shelved by the appointment of a Committee (which would meet at Delhi on 23rd January 1925).

Miscellaneous events of minor importance but which engaged some attention of Congressmen in the city were (1) the celebration of Tilak anniversary, (2) Nabha abdication, (3) Rent Act, etc. which hardly need any mention here. There was however, some attempt at organising the volunteer corps by putting into practice Dr. Hardikar's scheme for " Hindustani Sewa Dal", the details of which are as given below.

Hindustani Sewa Dal

The first attempt in this direction was made in the month of July 1924. The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee held private meetings (on 20th July and 27th July) with a view to getting on with the formation of a local contingent of Hindustani Sewa Dal. Attendance at the first meeting was 20 and at the second 40. K. B. Sanzgiri was appointed to command the contingent, S. V. Deshpande was put in as second in command while S. R. Bhat and P. H. Sukhadwala were appointed Lieutenants. The instructions issued to the volunteers of the Dal were to attend the spinning classes and qualify for teaching spinning to the public as required by the Ahmedabad Conference resolutions of June 1924. The volunteers, however, showed no noteworthy activity in this respect. A few of them kept order at the time of the All-Party Conference held in Bombay on 21st November and the following two days. They also looked to the accommodations of the All-India leaders who visited Bombay to attend the All-Party Conference. On 7th December 1924 at a private meeting attended by about 25 members of the Hindustani Sewa Dal, eleven delegates to the annual Conference of the Hindustan Sewa Dal (second All-India Volunteer Conference) to be held at Belgaum during the Congress week, were elected. A copy of the constitution of the Hindustani Sewa Dal, published by the Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee for the City of Bombay, is attached.

Congress Work

During the year 1924 no special efforts were made in Bombay to make collections for the Tilak Swaraj Fund and to enlist members for the Congress as was done in the past. The result was that only Rs. 3,714 were collected for the Tilak Swaraj Fund and about 13,199 members were enlisted for the Congress and that too with the greatest difficulty.

Close of the year 1924

Thus the whole year had been one of continual drift marked by paper palets and compromises but by no practical achievements. Even the Congress Secretaries in issuing their annual reports, had to admit publicly that the year was one of uncertainty and that a feeling of uncertainty as to the future programme of the Congress had prevailed among the Congressmen themselves. The year closed with the Session of the Indian National Congress at Belgaum under the presidency of M. K. Gandhi.

COCANADA CONGRESS

Cocanada Congress—December 1923

The 38th Session of the Indian National Congress was held at Cocanada on 28th, 29th, 30th and 31st December 1923, and January 1, 1924. Syt. Konda Venkatappayya was chairman of the Reception Committee and Maulana Mohamed Ali was the President of the Session.

The following resolutions were passed by the Congress at its 38th Session at Cocanada:—

I. This Congress places on record its deep sense of loss at the demise of Sriyut S. Kasturi
Sorrrows at death of Patriots. Ranga Iyengar and Babu Aswini Kumar Datta, who had rendered invaluable services in the cruse of the country.

This Congress also records with grief the death of Syt. Hardeo Singh Narayen and of Pandit Pratap Narayan Bajpeyi who bravely suffered imprisonment imposed upon them and contacted serious illness during their incarera-tion and preferred death to release under dishonourable conditions.

The Congress resolves to place on record its deep sense of the loss sustained by the country by the death of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, an ex-President of the Congress.

II.This Congress condemns the continued incarceration of Syt. Vinayak Damodar Sawarkar,
Syt. Sawarkar. and expresses its sympathy with Dr. N. D. Savarkar and other members of his family.

III.Read the draft of the Indian National Pact. Resolved that the Committee appointed by Delhi
Indian National Pact. Session of the Congress do call for further opinions and criticism and submit further report by the 31st March 1924 to the All-India Congress Committee for its consideration, and that Sardar Amar Singh Jhabbal be included in the Committee in place of Sardar Mehtab Singh who is in jail.

IV.This Congress is of the opinion that in order to train the people of India and make them
Volunteer Organisation. effective instruments for the carrying out of the National work on the lines laid down by the Congress it is necessary to have a trained and disciplined body of workers.
This Congress, therefore, welcomes the movement for the formation of an All-India Volunteer Organisation and calls on the Working Committee to take all necessary steps to form such a body of trained volunteers in co-operation with the organisers of the movement and keep control and supervision over it while giving it freedom of internal management and administration.

V.Resolves that this Congress hereby calls upon its Working Committee to prepare and
Congress Department. submit at as early a date as possible to the All-India Congress Committee for its consideration, a scheme of organisation of separate Congress Department for more efficiently, expeditiously and uninterruptedly carrying out the various items of the programme of constructive work under its supervision and control.

That the Working Committee should also submit a scheme of a national service of paid workers who would carry out the work of the various departments and provide adequate and efficient control and provincial secretariats and local office establishments.

That this Congress authorises the All-India Congress Committee to adopt these schemes with such notifications as it may deem necessary and to put them into force at the earliest possible date.

VI. This Congress reaffirms the Non-co-operation resolution adopted at Non-Co-operation. Calcutta, Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Gaya and Delhi.

Since doubts have been raised by reason of the non-co-operation resolution adopted at Delhi with regard to Council-entry, whether there has been any change in the policy of the Congress regarding the triple boycott, this Congress affirms that the principle and policy of that boycott remain unaltered.

This Congress further declares that said principle and policy form the foundation of constructive work, and appeals to the nation to carry out the programme of constructive work as adopted at Bardoli and appears for the adoption to take immediate steps in this behalf with a view to the speedy attainment of our goal.

VII. This Congress sends the greetings and sympathy of the nation to the Indian Community in Kenya, and while adhering to the opinion that unless *swarajya* is won for India, the suffering and grievances of Indians abroad cannot be properly remedied, it authorises Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mr. George Joseph to attend the forthcoming Indian Congress in Kenya and study the situation and advise the Indian Community there as to what steps they should take in carrying on their struggle against the insults and injustices imposed upon them.

VIII. This Congress appoints a Committee consisting of Syts. M. A. Arulanadam, A. V. Dias, Ceylon Periaundaram and L. Muthukri-shna to investigate the conditions of life to which Labourers. the South Indian labourers in Ceylon are subjected, and to make a report to the Working Committee.

IX. This Congress declares that the attack made by the Government on the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and the Akali Dal is a direct challenge to the Akali Struggle. right of the free association of all Indians for non-violent activities, and being convinced that the blow is aimed at all movements for freedom, resolves to stand by the Sikhs and calls upon Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians, Parsees and all people of India to render all possible assistance to the Sikhs in their present struggle, including assistance with men and money.

This Congress authorises the All India Congress Committee to take all necessary steps in this behalf.

X. In view of the humiliating treatment accorded to Indian labourers in various parts of the British Empire, this Congress advises the people of India to consider the question of stopping all kinds of emigration from India for labour purposes and calls upon the Working Committee to appoint a small committee to examine the matter in all aspects and report to the All-India Congress Committee.

XI. Resolves that this Congress authorises the Working Committee of All-India Congress Committee to perform the duties of the Civil Disobedience Committee appointed at the Delhi Session of the Congress and further resolves that the Satyagraha Committee do henceforward cease to exist as a separate committee.

XII. It is resolved that an All-India Khaddar Board be formed consisting of Syt, Jamnalal Bajaj (Chairman), Vallabhbhai Patel, Maganlal Gandhi, Reva Shankar Jagjivan Khaddar Board. Javeri, Velji Nappu, Belgaumwala, Shaukat Ali and Shankarlal Banker (Secretary) with full power to organise and carry on *khaddar* work throughout India under the general supervision of the All-India Congress Committee, and to raise

funds (including loans) therefore, in addition to the allotments that may be made from the general funds. The Board shall hold office for three years, any vacancy to be filled in by the rest of the members. A report and statement of accounts shall be presented to the All-India Congress Committee at its annual meeting and whenever called for. The Board will act as the central authority on behalf of the All-India Congress Committee with regard to *khaddar* work and in co-operation with Provincial Congress Committees.

It will supervise and control the Khaddar Boards established by Provincial Congress Committees, and organise new ones in co-operation with the Provincial Congress Committees where they do not exist.

XIII. This Congress places on record its grateful thanks for the valuable services rendered by the outgoing General Secretaries.

Outgoing
Secretaries.

XIV. Resolves that the following office-bearers be appointed :—

Office-bearers.

General Secretaries

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.
Dr. Saif-ud-din Kitchlew. Syt.
Gangadhar Rao Deshpande.

Treasurers

Syt. Velji Lakhamsi Nappu.
Syt. Reva Shankar Jagjivan Javeri.

XV. Resolves that Messrs. C. H. Sopariwalla and company be appointed auditors for the year.

Auditors.

XVI. This Congress resolves that its next session be held in Karnatak.

Next Congress.

Revision of Constitution

XVII. A number of amendments to the Constitution were adopted by the Congress.

Note.—Copy of the Constitution as amended by the Cocanada Session of the Congress, 1923 is attached.

CONSTITUTION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AS AMENDED BY THE COCANADA CONGRESS, 1923

Object

Article I.—The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of *Swarajya* by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

Session" of the Congress

Article II.—(a) The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily meet once every year during the last week of December at such place as may have been decided upon at its previous session or such other place as may have been determined by the All-India Congress Committee hereinafter referred to.

(b) An extraordinary session of the Congress shall be summoned by the All-India Congress Committee on the requisition of a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees or of its own motion, provided that in the latter

case due notice has been given and the proposal is supported by two-thirds of the members present. The All-India Congress Committee shall determine the place where such session is to be held, and the Articles of the Constitution shall apply with such modifications as the All-India Congress Committee may consider necessary in respect of each such session.

Component Parts of the Congress

Article III.—The Indian National Congress organisation shall consist of the following :—

- (a) The Indian National Congress.
- (b) The All-India Congress Committee.
- (c) Provincial Congress Committees.
- (d) District Congress Committees.
- (e) Sub-Divisional Taluqa or Tahsil, Firka or other local Congress committees.
- (f) Such other Committees outside India as may from time to time be recognised by the Congress in this behalf.
- (g) The Reception Committee of the Congress.

Note.—Provincial, District, Taluqa, Tahsil or other Conferences may be organised by the above Committees for educative and propaganda purposes.

Congress membership

Article IV.—No person shall be eligible to be a member of any of organisations referred to in the foregoing Articles, unless he or she has attained the age of 18 and expresses in writing his or her acceptance of the object and the methods as laid down in Article I of this Constitution and of the Rules of the Congress.

Provincial Congress Committees

Article V.—The following shall be the provinces with headquarters mentioned against them, but in every case the respective Provincial Congress Committee shall have the power to alter the headquarters from time to time:—

Provinces	Headquarters
(1) Ajmer, Merwara and Rajputana (Hindustani)	Ajmer
(2) Andhra (Telugu)	Bezwada.
(3) Assam (Assamese)	Gauhati.
(4) Behar (Hindustani)	Patna.
(5) Bengal and Surma Valley (Bengali)	Calcutta.
(6) Berar (Marathi)	Amraoti.
(7) Burma (Burmese)	Rangoon.
(8) Central Provinces (Hindustani)	Jubbulpore.
(9) Central Provinces (Marathi)	Nagpur
(10) City of Bombay (Marathi and Gujrati)	Bombay.
(11) Delhi (Hindustani)	Delhi.
(12) Gujarat (Gujarati)	Ahmedabad.
(13) Karnatak (Kannada)	Gadag.
(14) Kerala (Malayalam)	Calicut.
(15) Maharashtra (Marathi)	Poona.
(16) Punjab and N. W. Frontier Province (Punjabi Hindustani).	Lahore.
(17) Sind(Sindhi)	Hyderabad.
(18) Tamilnadu (Tamil)	Trichinopoly.
(19) United Provinces (Hindustani)	Allahabad.
(20) Utkal(Oriya)	Cuttack.

Indian States

Provided that the all India Congress Committee may from time to time assign particular Indian States to particular provinces and a Provincial Congress Committee may in its turn allot particular Indian States assigned to it by the, All-India Congress Committee to particular districts within its jurisdiction.

Provincial Organisation

Article VI.—(a) There shall be a Provincial Congress Committee, in and for each of the Provinces named in the foregoing Article.

(b) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall organise District and other Committees referred to in Article III and shall have the power to frame rules laying down conditions of membership and for the conduct of business not inconsistent with this constitution or any rules made by the All-India Congress Committee.

(c) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall consist of representatives elected annually by the members of the Congress organisations in the province in accordance with the rules made by the Provincial Congress Committee.

(d) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall submit an annual report of the Congress work in that province to the All-Indian Congress Committee before the 30th November.

(e) No person shall take part in elections to any Congress organisation who has not paid his subscription within a time fixed by the rules of the Provincial Congress Committee for the purpose.

Franchise

Article VII.—Every person not disqualified under Article IV and paying a subscription of four annas per year shall be entitled to become a member of any primary organisation controlled by the Provincial Congress Committee, provided that no person shall become a member of two parallel Congress organisations at one and the same time.

The year of the four-anna membership shall be from January 1st to December 31st.

Electorates and Delegates

Article VIII.—Each Provincial Congress Committee shall be responsible for the election of delegates to the Congress.

No one shall be qualified for election who is not a member of any Congress organisation.

The number of delegates shall be not more than one for every fifty thousand or its fraction of the inhabitants of the Province of its jurisdiction, including the Indian States therein, in accordance with the Census of 1921: provided, however, that the inclusion of Indian States in the electorate shall not be taken to include any interference by the Congress with the internal affair of such States.

The members of the All-India Congress Committee shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the Congress, the Provincial Congress Committees deducting the number of the elected and, if any, the *ex-officio* members of the All-India Congress Committee in their respective provinces from the number of delegates they are entitled to return.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall frame rules for the election of delegates, due regard being had to the return of women delegates and the representation of minorities, special interest or classes needing special protection.

The rules shall provide for organisation of electorates and shall prescribe the procedure to be adopted for securing the proportional representation, by a single transferable vote or by any other method, of every variety of political opinion. Notice of all changes in the rules framed by the Provincial Congress Committee shall forthwith be sent to the General Secretaries of the Congress.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall send to the Reception Committee of the ensuing session of the Congress, an alphabetical list of the delegates so elected, containing the full name, occupation, age, sex, religion and address of each of them to reach the committee not later than 10 days before the date fixed for the holding of the session. No changes shall be made in the list within ten days of the Congress. In case, however, of interim vacancies, the Provincial Congress Committee shall fill them in accordance with the rules made in that behalf, such rules having been communicated previously to the All-India Congress Committee.

Provincial Subscriptions

Article IX.—(a) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall pay annually such subscription to the All-India Congress Committee as may be fixed by the latter from time to time.

Subscription in arrears

(b) No member of a Congress Committee shall vote at the election of representative or delegates or be elected as such unless and until he has paid the subscription due by him.

Delegation Certificate

Article X.—Each Committee referred to in Article VIII shall issue certificates to the delegates duly elected in accordance with the form hereto attached marked Appendix A, and signed by a Secretary of the Committee.

Delegate's Fee

Article XI.—Every delegate on presenting such a certificate and paying a fee of Rs. 10 at the Congress office shall receive a ticket entitling him to admission to the Congress.

Voting at Congress

Article XII.—Delegates shall alone have the power of voting at the Congress sittings or otherwise taking part in its deliberations.

Reception Committee

Article XIII.— The Reception Committee shall be formed by the Provincial Congress Committee at least six months before the meeting of the annual session and may include persons who are not members of the Provincial Congress Committee. The members of the Reception Committee shall pay not less than Rs. 25 each.

Article XIV.—The Reception Committee shall elect its chairman and other office-bearers from amongst its own members.

Article XV.—It shall be the duty of the Reception Committee to collect funds for the expenses of the Congress session, to elect the president of the Congress in the manner set forth in the following Article, to make all necessary arrangements for the reception and accommodation of delegates and guests and, as far as practicable, of visitors, and for the printing and publication of the report of the proceedings, and to submit statement of receipts and expenditure to the Provincial Congress Committee within four months of the session of the Congress.

Election of the President

Article XVI.—The several Provincial Congress Committees shall, as far as possible by the end of June, suggest to the Reception Committee the names of persons who are in their opinion eligible for the presidency of the Congress and the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible in the first week of July, submit to all the Provincial Committees the names as suggested for their final recommendations, provided that such final recommendations will be of any one but not more of such names, and the Reception Committee shall as far as possible, meet in the month of August to consider such recommendations. If the person recommended by a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees is adopted by a majority of the members of the Reception Committee present at a special meeting called for the purpose, that person shall be the president of the next Congress. If, however, the Reception Committee is unable to accept the President recommended by the Provincial Congress Committees, or in case of emergency by resignation, death or otherwise, of the president elected in this manner the matter shall forthwith be referred by it to the All-India Congress Committee whose decision shall be arrived at as far as possible, before the end of September. In either case, the election shall be final, provided that in no case the person so elected as president belong to the province in which the Congress is to be held.

The President of a special or extraordinary session shall be elected by the All-India Congress Committee subject to the same proviso.

Article XVII.—(a) The Reception Committee shall, through the Provincial Congress Committee of the province, remit to the All-India Congress Committee, not later than two weeks after the termination of the Congress session, ordinary or extraordinary, half the delegation fees.

(b) If the Reception Committee has a balance after defraying all the expenses of the session, it shall hand over the same to the Provincial Congress Committee in the province in which the session was held, towards the Provincial Congress fund of that province.

Audit

Article XVIII.—(a) The receipts and expenditure of the Reception Committee shall be audited by an auditor or auditors appointed by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned and the statement of accounts together with the auditor's report shall be sent by the Provincial Congress Committee not later than six months from the termination of the Congress to the All-India Congress Committee.

(b) The accounts of the All-India Congress Committee shall be audited every year by an auditor appointed at the annual session. It shall be competent for this auditor to call for and inspect the accounts of the Provincial Congress Committee.

(c) The All-India Congress Committee shall take steps to ensure that the accounts of the Provincial Congress Committees are properly audited.

All-India Congress Committee

Article XIX. - The All-India Congress Committee shall consist of 350 members, exclusive of *ex-officio* members.

The *ex-officio* members shall be the elected President, past Presidents of the Congress, if they sign Article I of this Constitution and are members of any Congress organisation, the General Secretaries and the Treasurers of the Congress.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall elect the allotted number of members of the All-India Congress Committee from among the members of the Congress Committees within its jurisdiction.

The Allotment shall be, as far as possible, on the basis of population according to the linguistic distribution of provinces, as given in Appendix B.

The method of election shall be the same as already prescribed for the election of delegates.

Elections to the All-India Congress Committee shall ordinarily take place in the month of November.

Casual vacancies in the All-India Congress Committee caused by resignation, death, absence from India, or otherwise, shall be filled by the Provincial Congress Committee.

The All-India Congress Committee shall meet as often as may be necessary for the discharge of its obligations, and every time upon requisition by 30 members thereof, who shall state in their requisition, the definite purpose for which they desire a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. When once such a meeting is requisitioned and convened, additional subjects may be brought up for consideration, provided due notice has been given to the members of the same.

The quorum for the All-India Congress Committee shall be fifty.

The All-India Congress Committee shall hold office till the election, of the new All-India Congress Committee.

Article XX.—The Secretaries of the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall issue certificates of membership of the All-India Committee to the persons so elected.

Function of All-India Congress Committee

Article XXI.—The All-India Congress Committee shall be the Committee of the Congress to carry out the programme of work laid down by the Congress from year to year and deal with all new matter that may arise during the year and may not be provided for by the Congress itself. For this purpose the All-India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame its own rules not inconsistent with this constitution.

Article XXII.—The President of the Congress shall be the Chairman of the All-India Congress Committee for the year following.

General Secretaries

Article XXIII.—The Indian National Congress shall have three General Secretaries and two Treasurers, who shall be annually elected by the Congress. The General Secretaries shall prepare the report of the work of the All-India Congress Committee during the year and submit it, with a full account of the funds which may come into their hands, to the All-India Congress Committee at a meeting to be held at the place and about the time of the session of the Congress for the year and copies of such account and report shall then be presented to the Congress and sent to the Congress Committees.

Working Committee

Article XXIV.—The All-India Congress Committee shall, at its first meeting after the annual session of the Congress, elect nine members who shall, with the President, General Secretaries and Treasurers, be the Working Committee of the Congress and the executive authority responsible to the All-India Congress Committee in all matters.

All proceedings of the Working Committee shall be placed before the next meeting of the All-India Congress Committee.

Subjects Committee

Article XXV.—The members of the All-India Congress Committee shall constitute the Subjects Committee for the ordinary or extraordinary session following.

Article XXVI.—The Subjects Committee shall meet at least two days before the meeting of the Congress in open Session. At this meeting of the President elect shall preside, and the outgoing Secretaries shall submit the draft programme of the work for the ensuing session of the Congress, including resolutions recommended by the different Provincial Congress Committees for the adoption.

Article XXVII.—The Subjects Committee shall proceed to discuss the said programme and shall frame resolutions to be submitted to the open session.

Article XXVIII.—The Subjects Committee shall also meet from time to time as the occasion may require, during the pendency of the Congress Session.

Contentions, subjects and interests of minorities

Article XXIX. -No subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subjects Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the president thereof the introduction of which the Hindu or Mohammedan delegate., as a body, object by a majority of three-fourths of their number, and if after the discussion of any subject which has been admitted for discussion, it shall appear that the Hindu or Mohammedan delegates, as a body, are by majority of three-fourths of their number, opposed to the resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such resolution shall be dropped.

Article XXX—At each sitting of the Congress, the order in which business shall be transacted shall be as follows: —

(a) The Resolutions recommended for adoption by the Subjects Committee.

(b) Any substance motion not included in (a) but which does not fall under Article XXIX of the constitution and which 25 delegates request the President in writing before the commencement of the day's sitting to be allowed to place before the Congress; provided, however, that no such motion shall be allowed unless it has been previously discussed at a meeting of the Subjects Committee and has received the support of at least a third of the members then present.

Article XXXI.- The All-India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame rules in respect of all matters not covered by the constitution and not inconsistent with its Articles.

Article XXXII.—The All-India Congress Committee shall, at its first meeting every year, nominate a panel of 12 members to enquire into and finally decide all election disputes coming before it. The parties to the dispute shall nominate one each out of this panel to represent the respective disputants and the president shall choose the third.

Article XXXIII.—The proceedings of the Congress shall be conducted, as far as possible, in Hindustani, English or the language of the province may also be used.

APPENDIX 'A'

(Vide Article X of the Constitution)

I hereby certify that

Full name.....
Occupation
AgeSexReligion
Address

is a member of the.....
has been duly elected by..... Congress Committee and a delegate to the Indian
National Congress to be held in the month of.....

Secretary,
Congress Committee.

APPENDIX ' B '

Number of members of the All-India Congress Committee allotted to the different provinces

Province	No of Members
1. Ajmer	7
2. Andhra	24
3. Assam	5
4. Bihar	33
5. Bengal and Surma Valley	48
6. Berar	7
7. Burma	12
8. Central Provinces (Hindustani)	13
9. Central Provinces (Marathi)	7
10. City of Bombay	7
11. Delhi	8
12. Gujarat	12
13. Karnatak	15
14. Kerala	8
15. Maharashtra	16
16. Punjab and N. W. Frontier Provinces	37
17. Sind	9
18. Tamil Nadu	25
19. United Provinces	45
20. Utkal	12
	350

The Indian National Pact

Whereas India being dependency of the British Government has been, deprived of all the rights and privileges of a free country and Indians are denied even full citizenship rights in several parts of the British Empire, and the present foreign Government does not use and in the nature of things cannot be expected to use all its resources to uphold the dignity and protect the elementary rights of Indians ; whereas it is essential for the free and full moral and material development of the citizens and the enforcement of due respect for their human rights and their liberties in all parts of the globe that Indians should before all else possess in India the rights and the privileges that the free nations of the world enjoy in their respective countries, whereas it is necessary that all the peoples of India, of whatever religion, race or colour, should unite together and apply all their resources, moral, mental and material, for the attainment of Swaraj and the only obstacles is the want of co-operation among the different communities due to misunderstandings a mutual suspicion about each other's aims and intentions, and whereas a joint declaration by all communities of the goal which they seek to attain and the rights which they wish to secure for the people, which a Swaraj Government will be pledged to guarantee and safeguard, will be beneficial to the creating of that confidence and toleration, which are absolutely essential for a common endeavour.

It is hereby resolved that all the communities and committees represented by the signatories to this document shall enter into an agreement in terms of the following resolutions which shall be known as the Indian National Pact.

In pursuance therein it is hereby resolved:—

(1) It shall be the firm and unaltered object of the communities represented by the signatories to this pact to secure complete *Swaraj* for India, that is to say, the *Swaraja* which will secure and guarantee to Indians the same status, rights and privileges in India as every free and independent nation enjoys in its country .

(2) The form of the Government under *Swaraj* shall be democratic and of the federal type but the exact nature of this Government shall be fixed and determined here after by a National Convention consisting of representatives of all communities and all shades of political opinion.

(3) Hindustani shall be the national language of India. It shall be permissible to write it in either script, Urdu or Devanagari.

(4) Full religious liberty, i.e., liberty of belief, worship, propaganda, association and education, is hereby guaranteed to all the communities forming the Indian Nation and shall form a constitutional right which it shall never be lawful for any government to annul, modify, suspend or otherwise interfere with. The aforementioned liberties shall, however, be exercised subject to such disciplinary rules and regulations as may be found necessary to preserve peace and order and to eliminate force or compulsion by any one party in derogation of the rights of others.

(5) To prevent any particular religious denomination being given undue preference over any other, no Government funds or funds collected by local bodies from public revenues and public taxes including cesses shall be devoted to the promotion and furtherance of any denominational institutions or purposes.

(6) When once the *Swaraj* has been achieved it shall be the sacred duty of every Indian, be he Hindu, Mussalman, Sikh, Parsi, Christian, or of any other denomination to defend it against all attack external or internal.

(7) In view of the present state of feeling prevailing in the different communities and in view of the insufficient development of political sense and responsibility in them, it is necessary for some time to afford adequate protection to the interests of minorities, it is therefore hereby agreed that the various communities shall have separate representation in the Legislatures, both State and Federal.

Such representation shall throughout the country be in proportion to the numerical strength of each community in the constituencies. But the electorate in all cases will be joint.

There shall be no communal or colour or caste distinction in public services in the educational institutions.

(Note 1.—Dr. Ansari wishes to extend the principle of separate representation to municipalities and local boards. Lala Lajpatrai does not agree to this. As an alternative Lalaji proposes that a time limit may be fixed during which communal representation will be enforced and at the expiry of which it will be abolished altogether.)

(Note 2.—Lala Lajpatrai wants that special provision shall be made for the representation of Sikhs and some other communities who are in a very small minority such as Christians and Parsis, etc. Dr. Ansari suggests that large minorities such as Sikhs and Christians may be given special representation in the Federal Legislatures but only very small minorities such as Parsis should be given special representation both in the Federal and State Legislatures.)

(8) In order to achieve national unity and out of regard for the religious feelings of their Hindu compatriots the Mussalmans of India do hereby by a solemn self-denying ordinance bind themselves to give up cow-slaughter except in connection with Id-i-Azha when it will be done, in such a manner as will not injure the feelings of Hindus.

(9) In order to secure and preserve a calm atmosphere for public worship it is hereby declared that no music shall be allowed in front of places of public worship at such time as may be fixed by local mixed conciliatory boards.

(10) Religious processions of different denominations when calling on one and the same date shall follow such different routes or be fixed for such different times as may be determined by local mixed conciliatory boards.

(11) In order to prevent friction and settle all questions giving a rise to difference and conflicts between different religious communities, i.e., on the occasion of Dasera, Moharrum, Rath, Yatra procession, Sikh Divans, etc., provincial and local joint boards will be appointed to act as conciliatory and arbitration boards.

(12) While cherishing feelings of the most friendly nature towards all the nations of the world at large it is further resolved that the people of India should participate in the formation of a federation of eastern countries to be established for purposes of mutual help in trade and commerce and the emancipation of the East from economic exploitation and domination by Europe and with a view to encourage and support oriental culture and generally to maintain good and friendly relations between the various nationalists all over the East.

(Note.—Dr. Ansari wishes to incorporate in the National Pact a proviso similar to that of the Lucknow Pact which would run as follows : " Further that no bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution affecting any community which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the

Legislature concerned shall be proceeded with if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Legislature, Federal or State, oppose the bill or any clause thereof or resolution." But as there is no time to get Lala Lajpatrai's opinion it is submitted with his recommendation only.)

M. A. ANSARI

Summary of Proceedings of the meetings of the Working Committee held on April 23rd and 20th, 1924, in Bombay and Juhu

The Committee met at Syt. Shankerlal Banker's house in Chaupati, Bombay, at 3-15 p.m.

The following members were present:—

1. Maulana Mohamed Ali (in the chair).
2. Syt. Konda Venkatappayya.
3. Syt. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande.
4. Syt. Jamanlal Bajaj.
5. Syt. Vallabhbhai Patel.
6. Syt. Shankerlal Banker.
7. Syt. Reva Shanker Jagijivan Jhaveri.
8. Syt. Jawaharlal Nehru.

1. The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.

2. The following statements were laid before the Committee:—

(i) The Treasurer's statement of receipts and expenditure from 19th December 1923 to 21st April 1924.

(ii) A statement of the accounts of the office of the All-India Congress Committee from 11th December 1923 to 31st March 1924.

(iii) A statement of loans advanced by and monies due to the All-India Congress Committee. It was resolved that the General Secretary do take special steps to recover the monies due to the All-India Congress Committee and that for this purpose he be authorised to incur necessary travelling expenses.

3. Read Syt. C. Rajagopalchariar's letter dated 23rd March 1923 asking for extension of time for the repayment of Rs. 15,000 advanced to Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee. Resolved that the time be extended till the 30th June 1924.

4. The Secretary informed the Committee that a sum of Rs. 1,25,000 had been received from Rangoon for the Tilak Swaraja Fund. Of this Rs. 62,757-12-0 was for the Central Fund and Rs. 62,242-4-0 was earmarked for constructive work in Gujarat.

5. The Secretary laid the papers relating to the loan of Rs. 40,000 to Mr. Badrul Hassan for *khaddar* work in Hyderabad (Deccan) before the Committee. It was resolved that the Secretary should get the *khaddar* in dispute valued with the help of the All-India Khaddar Board.

6. Mr. Phookan's telegram asking for help for fire and cholera relief in Assam was considered. Resolved that the Committee regret they are unable to give any financial assistance.

7. Telegram from Dr. Sathye asking for financial assistance for labour relief in Bombay was considered. The Committee regretted that they were unable to give any help.

8. The application of Assam Provincial Congress Committee for grant of Rs. 28,000 was considered. The Committee was sorry that they were unable to give any grant.

9. Sardar Amar Singh Jhabbal's resignation from the National Pact Committee was accepted and it was resolved to request the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee to suggest the name of another Sikh gentleman to serve on the National Pact Committee.

10. Syt. C. Rajagopalachari's resignation from the Andhra-Utkal Boundary Arbitration Committee was accepted. Resolved that Babu Rajendra Prasad be requested to work on the Board in place of Syt. C. Rajagopalachari.

11. The Secretary informed the Committee of the circumstances under which Mr. Panikkar was asked to take charge of the Congress Akali Sahayak Bureau in Amritsar. It was resolved that Mr. Panikkar's appointment on Rs. 300 per month and on the conditions mentioned in Mahatma Gandhi's letter dated 15th March 1924 be approved.

Further resolved that the payment of Rs. 100 to Pandit Karamchand Shukla be sanctioned.

12. Resolved that Syt. Banarasidas Chaturvedi be paid for the period he was away on deputation in East Africa on behalf of the Congress the allowance he was being paid in the Gujarat Vidyapith.

13. Letter from the Secretary, Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, No. 879, dated 19th March 1924, about fraudulent conduct of certain Congress workers was considered. The Committee was of opinion that in all cases of suspected embezzlement or fraud the Provincial Congress Committee should institute proper enquiries and in clear cases of fraud or misappropriation full publicity should be given to the facts and the persons concerned. The Committee also wished to draw the attention of all Provincial Congress Committees to the model rules for the collection, retention and expenditure of the Tilak Swaraj Fund and other Congress monies, which had already been sent to all Provincial Committees. In the opinion of the Committee few cases of misappropriation are likely to occur if these rules are fully acted upon and enforced.

14. Read letter from the Secretary, All-India Khaddar Board, dated 29th March 1924.

Resolved that in view of the formation of the All-India Khaddar Board in place of the Khadi Department of the All-India Congress Committee the monies standing in the name of the Khadi Department in various banks be transferred to the All-India Khaddar Board and Syt. Jamnalal Bajaj, Chairman of the Khaddar Board, do operate on the accounts instead of Syt. Maganlal Gandhi.

15. The recommendations of the Bengal and U. P. Provincial Congress Committees for the Press Advisory Committees were considered. It was resolved that the following do form the Committees:—

For Bengal—Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Syt. Jitendra Lal Bannerji and Syt. Lakshmi Narayan Garde.

For United Provinces.—Syt. Purshottamdas Tandon, Moulvi Tasadduq Ahmad Khan Sherwani and Syt. Sitla Sahi.

16. The following reports and papers were laid before the Committee:—

(i) Progress report from Karnatak, Punjab, C. P. Hindustani, Andhra, Maharashtra, U. P. and C. P. Marathi.

(ii) Bombay Provincial Congress Committee's resolution regarding loan of Rs. 9,000 for the Boycott Committee.

(iii) The Secretary informed the Committee that Rs. 5-1-10, the balance of the British Committee's funds, has been recovered; and that steps were being taken to get the library sent to India.

(iv) The Secretary informed the Committee that a peon had misappropriated Rs. 6-8-0. It was resolved that this be written off.

(v) The Secretary informed the Committee that a number of Congress reports belonging to the All-India Congress Committee were with Syt. C. Vijiaraghavachariar and that he was being requested to return them soon.

(vi) The Secretary informed the Committee that a large number of copies of the report and evidence of the Martial Law Enquiry Commission and of the Civil Disobedience Committee were unsold. It was resolved to authorise the Secretary to reduce the prices and to sell them off.

The Committee adjourned at 6-30 p.m. and met again at Juhu on April 24th at 10 a.m.

All the members who were present on the day before were present in addition to Dr. Kitchlew.

17. The letter dated 18th April 1924 from the Secretary, C P. Marathi Provincial Congress Committee, regarding Syt. Bhagwandin's membership of the two Provincial Congress Committee was considered.

The Committee was of opinion that Article VII of the Constitution clearly precluded any person from belonging at one time to two Provincial Committees and any person so elected must make his choice and resign from one of the Committees.

The Committee then met Mahatma Gandhi who gave his views on some of the problems facing the country. The Committee adjourned at 11 a.m. and met again at 3 p.m. Mahatma Gandhi was present.

18. Mr. Panikkar explained the Akali situation in the Punjab. He stated that the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee was not co-operating with or helping the Congress Akali Sahayak Bureau. The money granted by the Congress for helping civil resisters had not been utilised to any great extent owing to the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee not giving definite information about them.

It was resolved that Dr. Kitchlew be requested to enquire and report as to the advisability of closing the Sahayak Bureau and taking back the money advanced. The President be authorised to take action on the report.

Privilege

The meeting terminated at 5-30 p.m.

(Signed).....

General Secretary,
All-India Congress Committee.

SWARAJ PARTY ORGANISATION

A meeting was held on April 25 at Arya Bhuwan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay.

Present.—V. J. Patel, M. R. Jayakar, N. C. Kelkar, Rangaswami Aiyengar, Goswami; Dayalji Nanubhai Desai and Raghvendra Rao.

The following matters were disposed of —

Swarajist Policy	Resolved to make no change unless a new mandate is given by the electorate.
Acceptance of Office with a view to obstruction.	Resolved not to accept ministerial office.
Possibility of fresh elections in the Central Province.	Agreed in this eventuality that all Swarajist leaders should visit the Central Provinces and conduct a vigorous cam-paign for return of Swarajist candidates.
Swarajist Policy on questions arising in councils and	Resolved to appoint a sub-committee consisting of C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru Assembly.and Vithalbhai J. Patel, to lay down policy on such matters.
Swarajist attitude to Tariff Bill now before Assembly.	The following Committee was appointed to study the Board's Report : V. J. Patel, M. R. Jayakar, M. D. Jinnah, Jaysukhalal Mehta (Secretary, Bureau), and J. Mehta.
Indian Merchants' Chamber and Relations with M. K, Gandhi	This was the most momentous topic before the meeting and took up most of the time. It appeared Congress held on the previous day at Juhu Gandhi had condemned the consistently obstructive tactics of
that to the Working Committee of the	the Swarajists as being tantamount to the use of violence. Gandhi had also exhorted the party to take up constructive work and get measures put through in
the Councils and in the Assembly. In his opening speech Pandit Motilal Nehru, who presided, replied	to these criticisms. He denied that obstruction and violence were interchaneable terms. As regards constructive work, he said that to get this done would
mean accepting ministerial office, which they were not prepared to do.	N. C. Kelkar spoke against Gandhi's attitude which he stigmatised as " sheer obstinacy. "
	From the general trend of the discussion it appeared that the Executive Council of the Swaraj Party would have liked to break publicly with Gandhi, but in the absence of C. R. Das did not feel strong enough to do
so. The outcome therefore was a decision to	

continue conversations with a view to arriving at a compromise between the views of Gandhi and those of the Council.-

Drafting of Swaraj Party resolutions for the next session of the Legislative Assembly.

Referred to a sub-committee of V. J. Patel and J. M. Mehta.

Raising of Swaraj Party Funds

Referred to the following Committee:—
Pandit Motilal Nehru.
V. J. Patel.
M.R. Jayakar.

The *Bombay Chronicle* of April 28 in reporting the meeting says that strict secrecy is being maintained as to the proceedings there at. It understands, however, that it was decided—

- (1) To help the Central Provinces Swarajists with funds and men, in case a fresh election takes place in that Province;
- (2) To pursue the present policy of the Party in the Assembly regarding demands for the release of political prisoners;
- (3) To appoint a committee to study the Tariff Board Report;
- (4) To appoint a sub-committee to regulate non-official business at the next regular sessions of the Assembly; and
- (5) To appeal for funds.

The "Times of India", dated 23rd May 1924—

Mr. Gandhi Firm.

No belief in Council-entry.

UNDERTAKING TO PUT NO OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF SWARAJISTS

New Gandhi-Das-Nehru Programme

Two statements, one by Mr. Gandhi and the other under the joint signatures of Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru embodying the results of the conference at Juhu were issued to the press last night.

These statements confirm the forecast already published by the Times of India. On the question of Council-entry Mr. Gandhi says there is an honest and fundamental difference of opinion and that he has not been convinced by the Swarajist arguments.

Mr. Gandhi adds that in view of the Delhi and Cocanada resolutions he would be no party to putting any obstacles in the way of the Swarajists or to carrying on counter-propaganda, although he could not actively help them in a project in which he has no belief.

Mr. Das and Pandit Nehru state that they remain unconvinced by Mr. Gandhi's reasoning against the Swarajist programme. They contended that Council-entry is, and can be thoughtfully consistent with the principle of non-co-operation.

Outlining the future programme of the Swarajists, the Das-Nehru manifesto says that the party must continue to throw out Budgets unless and until the system of Government is altered.

The Swarajist leaders assure Mr. Gandhi that the moment they find it impossible to meet the "selfish obstinacy" of the bureaucracy without Civil Disobedience they would retire from the Councils and unreservedly place themselves under his banner.

MR. GANDHI'S STATEMENT

Opposition to Council-entry

The following is the full text of Mr. Gandhi's statement :-

After having discussed with the Swarajist friends, the vexed question of entry into the Legislative Assembly and the Councils by Congressmen, I am sorry to have to say that I have not been able to see eye to eye with the Swarajists. I assure the public that there has been no lack of willingness or effort on my part to accept the Swarajist position. My task would be much simpler if I could identify myself with it. It can be no pleasure to me to oppose even in thought the most valued and respected leaders, some of whom have made great sacrifices in the cause of the country and who yield to no one in their love for the freedom of the Motherland. But in spite of my effort and willingness I have failed to be convinced by their argument. Nor is the difference between them and myself one of mere detail. There is an honest and fundamental difference. I retain the opinion that Council-entry is inconsistent with non-co-operation, as I conceive it. Nor is this difference a mere matter of interpretation of the word " non-co-operation " but relates to the essential mental attitude resulting in different treatment of vital problems. It is with reference to such mental attitude that the success or the failure of the triple boycott is to be judged and not merely by a reference to the actual results attained. It is from that point of view that I say that to be out of the legislative bodies is far more advantageous to the country than to be in them. I have however failed to convince my Swarajist friends. But I recognise that so long as they think otherwise their place is undoubtedly in the Councils. It is the best for us all.

What is to be done now ?

It was hardly to be accepted that the Swarajists could be convinced by the arguments I advanced in the course of conversations. There are many of them amongst the ablest, most experienced and honest patriots. They have not entered the legislative bodies without full deliberation and they must not be expected to retire from the position until experience has convinced them of the futility of their method.

The question, therefore, before the country is not an examination and distribution of the merits of the Swarajist view and mine. The question is what is to be done now regarding the Council-entry as a settled fact ? Are the non-co-operators to keep up their hostility against the Swarajists' method, or are they to remain neutral and even help, wherever it is possible or consistent with their principles ?

The Delhi and Cocanada resolutions have permitted those Congressmen who have no conscientious scruples to enter the Councils and the Assembly if they wanted to. In my opinion the Swarajists are, therefore, justified in entering the legislative bodies and expecting perfect neutrality on the part of the No-changers. They are also justified in resorting to obstruction, because such was their policy and the Congress laid down no conditions as to their entry. If the work of the Swarajists prospers and the country benefits, such an ocular demonstration cannot but convince honest sceptics like me of our error and I know the Swarajists to be patriotic enough to retrace their steps when experience has disillusioned them. I would, therefore, be no party to putting any obstacles in their way or to carrying on my propaganda against the Swarajists entry into the legislatures, though I cannot actively help them in a project in which I do not believe. The purpose of the Delhi and Cocanada resolutions was to allow the Swarajists

to chance of trying the method of Council-entry and that purpose can be served only if the No-changers with scrupulous honesty allow the Swarajists full liberty to pursue their programme in the Councils unfostered by any obstructions from them.

Work inside the Councils

With regard to the method of the work in the Councils, I will say that I would, enter a legislative body if only I found that I could at all use it to advantage. If, therefore, I enter the Councils, I should without following a general policy of obstruction endeavour to give strength to the constructive programme of the Congress. I should, therefore, move resolutions requiring the Central and Provincial Governments as the case may be:—

(1) To make all their cloth purchases in hand-spin and hand-woven *khaddar*; (2) to impose the prohibitive duty on foreign cloth, and (3) to abolish the drink and drug revenue and at least correspondingly reduce the army expenditure.

If the Government refuse to enforce such resolutions when carried in the legislatures, I should invite them to dissolve them and take the vote of the electors on the specific point. If the Government would not dissolve, I should resign my seat and prepare for civil disobedience. When that stage is reached the Swarajists will find me ready to work with and under them. My test of fitness for civil disobedience remains the same as before.

Advice to No-changers

During the state of probation, I should advise the No-changers not to worry about what the Swarajists are doing or saying and to prove their own faith by prosecuting the constructive programme with undivided energy and concentration. The *khaddar* and the national schools are enough to occupy every available worker who believes in quiet, honest and undemonstrative work. The Hindu-Muslim problem too will tax the best energy and faith of the workers. In untouchability the Hindus have a huge problem before them. The No-changers can justify their opposition to Council-entry only by showing the results of their application through the constructive programme even as the Pro-changers must justify their entry by results. The No-changers are in one respect in an advantageous position, for they can secure the co-operation of Pro-changers. The latter have declared their faith in the constructive programme but their intention is that by itself the constructive programme cannot enable the country to reach the goal. In the prosecution, however, of the construction programme outside the legislatures all No-changers Pro-changers and others can if they will work in union through their respective organisations if necessary.

This statement is incomplete without an examination of the working of the Congress organisation. I hold drastic and definite views in the matter. But I must reserve their expression for a future, though early occasion.

DAS-NEHRU MANIFESTO

Council-entry defended

The following is the statement of the Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru: -

" We are obliged to Mahatma Gandhi for the trouble he has taken to discuss with us the various points involved in the question of Councils entry and are indebted to his courtesy for the opportunity we have had of seeing an advance copy of the statement to have issued to the press. The views expressed by him

in the course of conversations and those bodied in the press statement have all been considered by us with care and attention due to his great personality, but with all the reverence we entertain for him and his opinions we remain unconvinced by his reasoning.

We regret we have not been able to convince Mahatma Gandhi of the soundness of the Swarajist position regarding Council-entry. We fail to understand now such entry can be regarded as inconsistent with the doctrine of the non-co-operation resolution of the Nagpur Congress. But if non-co-operation is more a matter of " mental attitude " than of the application of a living principle to the existing facts of our national life with special reference to the varying attitude of she bureaucratic government which rules that life, we conceive it to be our duty to sacrifice even non-co-operation to serve the real interests of the country. In our view this principle includes self-reliance in all activities which make for the healthy growth of the nation and resistance to the bureaucracy as I impedes our progress towards *Swaraj*.

We are however anxious to end this fruitless verbal discussion making it clear however that Council-entry is, can be thoroughly consistent with the principle of non-co-operation as we understand that principle to be.

' Obstruction ' defined

We desire further to make it clear that we have not used in our programme the word ' obstruction ' in the technical sense of English Parliamentary history. Obstruction in that sense is impossible in sub-ordinate and limited legislative bodies such as the legislative Assembly and the Provincial Legislatures under the Reforms Act undoubtedly are possibly, another word should have been found to convey our meaning. We may state, however, that our position is really not so much of obstruction (in the parliamentary sense as that of resistance to the obstruction placed in our path to *Swaraj* by the bureaucratic Government. It is this resistance which we meant to imply when we used the WORD obstruction). This was clearly indicated in the way we defined and described non-co-operation in the preamble to the constitution of the Swaraj Party. It is the spirit of such resistance which we desire to strengthen and it is the removal of such bureaucratic obstruction which we feel must emphasise. This is the policy which we have hitherto followed in the legislative bodies and it is this policy which must in future be more and more effectively directed to the varying needs and problems of our national life.

Here again we are anxious to end all verbal discussion as to whether this can be aptly described as a policy of ' uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction'. We are content to detail our policy and then leave it to our friends to give at a more appropriate name, should they so desire.

Future Programme

In the light of this principle and policy, we would here state our future " programme of action, within and outside the legislative bodies.

Within the legislative bodies we must continue—(I) To throw out Budgets unless and until the system of Government is altered in recognition of our rights or as a matter of settlement between Parliament and the people of this country, in justification of this step, all that we need point out are a few salient facts connection with the Budget in the Central Government, which are more or less true of Provincial budgets also. Out of a total of Rs. 131 crores (excluding railways) only Rs. 16 crores are votable. Further, out of the non-votable amount as much as Rs. 67 crores, i.e., more than half the amount of

the Budget are for military expenditure. It is thus clear that the people of this country have a right to vote only on less than 1/7 of the total amount of the Budget, and even the exercise of this limited right is subject to the power of restoration in the Governor-General. It is, therefore, clear that the people have neither any voice in the framing of the Budget nor any control over those who frame it. They have no power either over the raising of the revenue, or its expenditure. On what principle, then may we ask, is it our duty to pass such a Budget and take the responsibility of being a party to. We have no doubt, the support of many self-respecting men in the country in holding, as we do, that it is our clear duty to throw out such budgets in all legislative bodies, unless and until this vicious system is changed.

(2) To throw out all proposals for legislative enactments by which the bureaucracy proposes to consolidate its power. It is conceivable that some good may incidentally result from a few of such measures, but we are clearly of opinion that, in the larger interests of the country, it is better temporarily to sacrifice such little benefits, rather than add an idea to the powers of the bureaucracy which are already irresistible.

To Initiate Legislation

(3) To introduce all resolutions, measures and bills which are necessary for the healthy growth of our national life and the consequent displacement of the bureaucracy. We gratefully accept the suggestion made by Mahatma Gandhi in his statement and we think that the resolutions mentioned by him in support of the constructive programme of the Congress should certainly be accepted by the Swaraj Party. The principle of self-reliance and resistance to the bureaucratic obstruction upon which we have hitherto acted, calls for their adoption, and if the constructive work of the Congress comes within the principle of non-co-operation no less do these resolutions, although they represent constructive activity within the legislative bodies.

(4) To follow a definite economic policy based on the same principle to prevent the drain of public wealth from India by checking all activities leading to exploitation.

To make this policy effective we should take and occupy every place which is open to the members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures by election. In our opinion we should not only fill elective posts but serve on every Committee when it is possible. We invite the attention of the members of our Party to this important question and we call upon them to decide this matter as soon as possible.

Policy outside the Councils

Our policy outside the legislative bodies should be as follows:—

In the first place, we should give our whole-hearted support to the Constructive Programme of Mahatma Gandhi and work that programme unitedly through the Congress organisations. We are decidedly of opinion that our Council work must necessarily lose much of its strength, without the backing of the outside constructive work, for it is not inside, but outside the legislatures, that we must look for that sanction without which the effective carrying out of our Council policy is impossible. Indeed, in the matter of constructive work, the mutual support of both inside and outside activity must, in our opinion, give strength to the very sanction upon which we rely.

In this connection we unhesitatingly accept the suggestion of Mahatma Gandhi regarding Civil Disobedience. We can assure him that the moment we find that it is impossible to meet the selfish obstinacy of the bureaucracy

without civil disobedience, we will retire from the legislative bodies and help him to prepare the country for such civil disobedience, if by that time the country had not already become prepared, and we will then unreservedly place ourselves under his guidance and work through the Congress organisations under his banner, in order that we may unitedly work out substantial programme of civil disobedience.

Helping Labour Movements

In the second place we must supplement the work of the Congress by helping labour and peasant organisations throughout the country. The problem of labour is always a difficult problem to solve in every country, but in India the difficulties are greater. On the one hand, we must find out a way of organisation by which we can prevent the exploitation of labour by capitalists or by landlords, but on the other hand we must be on our guard to see that these very organisations may not themselves be the source of oppression by nursing extravagant and unreasonable demands. Labour undoubtedly requires protection, but so do industrial enterprises. Our organisations must protect both from exploitation and the Trade Union Congress must be so organised as to be able to serve this useful purpose. We hold that in the long run the real interests of both and the country at large are identical.

An abiding unity

We feel happy that we have had this opportunity of putting our views before the country side by side with Mahatma Gandhi's opinion, for we feel certain that the perusal will make it obvious that notwithstanding some differences of view there is an abiding and fundamental unity amongst both parties of the Indian National Congress. Both parties feel the necessity of working the Constructive Programme whether within or outside the legislative bodies.

In this direction, we feel confident, lies the germ of a fruitful alliance between Mahatma Gandhi and the Swaraj Party. Our joint effort in the same or different directions will furnish a fitting answer to the bureaucracy unwilling to recognise the rights and liberty of the Indian people, and we emphatically assert that in our determination to work with the same object in the same or different spheres is expressed the determination of the Indian nation to bring the struggle for *Swaraj* to a successful issue. "

All-India Congress Committee Meeting at Ahmedabad

Bombay Secret Abstract, dated 12th July 1924

The most important event of the week was the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Ahmedabad on June 27, 28 and 29. About 160 delegates attended.

The Working Committee met on the afternoon of June 26. After dealing with the question of the Maharashtra election (in favour of the orthodox party members who, it was alleged, had been illegally elected) the Committee considered Gandhi's four resolutions and came to the conclusion that the resolutions were in order and should be put to the full meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. This met on evening of June 27 under the presidency of Mohamed Ali. Gandhi arrived at about 7-00 p.m. and was met with a great reception. Gandhi then rose and put his first resolution which ran as follows:—

No. 1.—In view of the fact that the members of the Congress organisation throughout the country have themselves hitherto neglected hand-spinning, in spite of the fact that the spinning wheel and its product hand-spun *khaddar* have been regarded as indispensable for the establishment of *Swaraj* and

although their acceptance has been regarded by the Congress as a necessary preliminary to civil disobedience, the All-India Congress Committee resolves that all the members of the various representative Congress organisations shall except when disabled by sickness or prevented by continuous travelling, regularly spin for at least half an hour every day and shall send to the Secretary of the All-India Khaddar Board at least ten tolas each of own and well twisted yarn of a count not below ten so as to reach him not later than the 15th day of each month, the first consignment to reach the Secretary not later than the 15th day of August 1924 and thereafter in regular monthly succession. Any member failing to send the prescribed quantity by the prescribed date shall be deemed to have vacated his office and such vacancy shall be filled in the usual manner; provided that the member vacating in the manner aforesaid shall not be eligible for re-election before the next general election for the members of the several organisations.

No. 2.—Inasmuch as complaints have been received that the provincial secretaries and other members of Congress organisations do not carry out the instructions issued to them from time to time by officers duly authorised thereto, the All-India Congress Committee hereby resolves that those in charge of matters referred to them failing to comply with the instructions of officers thereto appointed shall be deemed to have vacated their offices and the vacancy shall be filled in the usual manner; provided that the member thus vacating shall not be eligible for re-election till the next general elections.

No. 3.—In the opinion of the All-India Congress Committee, it is desirable that the Congress electors elect to various offices in the Congress organisations, only those who in their persons carry out to the full the Congress creed and the various non-co-operation resolutions of the Congress including the five boycotts, namely, of all mill spun cloth, Government law courts, school titles and legislative bodies, and the All-India Congress Committee hereby resolves that the members who do not believe in and do not in their own persons carry out the said boycotts shall vacate their seats and that there should be fresh elections in respect of such seats; provided that if the members vacating so choose they may offer themselves for re-election.

No. 4.—The All India Congress Committee regrets the murder of the late Mr. Day by the late Gopinath Saha and offers its condolences to the deceased's family and though deeply sensible of the love, however misguarded, of the country prompting the murder, the All-India Congress Committee strongly condemns this and all such political murders and is emphatically of opinion that all such acts are inconsistent with the Congress creed and its resolution of non-violent, non-co-operation and is of opinion that such acts retard the progress towards *Swaraj*, and interfere with the preparations for civil disobedience which in the opinion of the All-India Congress Committee is capable of evoking the purest sacrifice but which can only be offered in a perfectly peaceful atmosphere. Pandit Motilal Nehru then, rose at once to a point of order. He argued that these resolutions were *ultra vires*. In this he was supported by C. R. Das and others of the Swaraj Party. His arguments were that the members of the All-India Congress Committee were elected and not nominated and absolute power rested with electors to elect whom they chose, and no restriction could be put upon their right without changing the constitution of the Congress. After a great deal of discussion a poll was taken the result of which was as for Motilal and 82 for Gandhi. 10 members remaining neutral. Gandhiji's resolutions were thus held constitutional and within the competence of the All-India Congress Committee to discuss. The house then adjourned.

Before the opening of the formal meeting of the All-India Congress Committee on June 28, an informal conference at the presidential dais took place between M. K. Gandhi, Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das.

As soon as the meeting properly commenced, Gandhi's first resolution was taken up. Proposals were made that the consideration of this resolution should be postponed till the next sessions at Belgaum. These proposals were negatived Gandhi then spoke in support of his resolution. He said he hoped that those who conscientiously differed from him would not support his resolution out of affection towards him, a mistaken feeling of loyalty. He was putting his resolution because he wanted to know where he stood. If he found that it rise to nothing but bitterness and that his party had supported the resolution simply through personal loyalty to himself, he would sever his connection with the Congress. Vallabhbhai Patel supported Gandhi.

Pandit Motilal Nehru then rose and strongly opposed the motion. He said that during the informal conference which had preceded the meeting, he and C. R. Das had offered Gandhi absolute dictatorship but, however loyal to Gandhi they might be. they could not agree to his attack on the constitution of the Congress. They were willing to give him complete control but they were not willing to surrender their rights. At the close of the speech Pandit Motilal Nehru. C. R. Das, Shrinivas Aiyengar and the Swaraj Party in general, to the number of about 55. left the hall.

Gandhi's resolution was then put to the vote and carried by 85 to 25. Gandhi then got up and said that the House must consider the votes of the absent Swarajists. If they did that they would see that this resolution would run have been passed in this present form. After considerable discussion it was decided to remove the penal clauses from the resolution and the House then adjourned till the next day. The resolution as amended ran as follows:—

" in view of the fact that certain members whilst proceedings of the Committee were going on deemed it is necessary to withdraw from the committee by the reason of their resentment of the penalty clause in the Coligatory spinning resolution and in view of the fact that the penalty clause was carried out by only 67 against 37 voles, and further in view of the fact that the said penalty clause would have been defeated if the votes of the withdrawals aid been given against it, this Committee considers it advisable to remove the penalty clause and to reaffirm the said resolution without such clause. "

The Swarajists had intended to leave Ahmedabad that night, but that evening they heard that the penalty clause had been deleted by Gandhi from his resolution No. 1. So Nehru and Aiyengar went to the Mahatma at Sabarmati. They had a long talk with him and Gandhi, who by this time had realised that the Swarajists were strong than he thought and that the period of his dictatorship was over agreed similarly to alter his other resolutions. The reason he gave for his change of attitude was that he was not aware of the full support at the Cocanada companies which permitted Swarajist Congressmen to go to the Councils and yet did not enforce their resignation from the Congress executives. As Gandhi is supposed to have been studying the question for the last three months this excuse derieved no one. All realised that it was merely a question of saving face.

When the Congress Committee re-assembled on the morning of June 29, all therefore went merry as a marriage hall. The hall was full of compliments. Gandhi's resolutions no.2 and 3 were then put to the meeting and passed unansiously. These resolutions now ran as follows:—

2. "In as much as it has been brought to the notice of the All-India Congress Committee that instructions issued from time to time to officers

and organisation duly authorised thereto have some times not been carried properly it is resolved that the Executive Committees of the Provincial Congress Committees shall have power to take such disciplinary action' including dismissal as may be deemed advisable and in cases where the default is by the provincial authorities, the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee shall have the power to take such disciplinary action including dismissal as may be deemed advisable by the respective committees of the Provincial Committee."

3. "The All-India Congress Committee draws the attention of the Congress voters to the fact that the five boycotts, namely, of all mill-spun cloth, Government law courts, educational institutions, titles and legislative bodies, except in so far as they may have been affected by the Cocanada resolution, are still part of the Congress programme and therefore considers it desirable that those Congress voters who believed in the Congress programme do not elect to the various Congress organisations, those who do not believe in carrying out in their person the said five boycotts except where affected by the said Cocanada resolution and the All-India Congress Committee therefore requests such persons who are now members of the Congress elective organisations to resign their places."

At the opening sessions of the Committee, Gandhi put his resolution No. 4 (condemning Gopinath Sana, the assassin of Mr. Day). Das then moved an amendment which was an exact counter part of his Seranjinj Conference resolution. He made a stirring speech in its support and did his best to show that he and the Bengal Provincial Conference had been hostile to any form of violence. He said that threats under Regulation 3 of 1818 had been made against him and he asked the House to accept his amendment if only as an answer to that threat.

N. S. Paranjpye seconded Das's amendment in his speech told Gandhi that he (Gandhi) pushed his love of non-violence too far. After a hot discussion Das was defeated by 73 to 67. Finally the original resolution was carried by an over-whelming majority.

Several No-changers and non-violence men voted in favour of Das's amendment. Gandhi was much grieved by the desertion of non-co-operation principles and completely broke down. The meeting was much affected, the majority of these prevent being in tears. All the leaders present stood up and swore loyalty once again to the Mahatma.

A resolution was passed congratulating the Akalis in their non-violent struggle.

Gangadharrao Deshpande of Belgaum resigned his office of secretary to the All-India Congress Committee in view of the resolution passed on the previous day. Gangadharrao is at present engaged in a civil suit in the Small Cause Court, Belgaum.

Further proceeding of the Committee are devoid of interest. They came to an end at the same evening. From the proceedings it is apparent that neither party can stand by itself. Gandhi is said to be bitterly disappointed at the number of his so called supporters who still entertain ideas of violence and he realised, I think that he will never again be able to reproduce the spirit that existed in India in 1920. On the other hand there is no doubt that Gandhi's prestige has suffered very severely not only on account of his defeat in the Congress by the Swarajists but also because of his weak-kneed abandonment of his original position when faced with hostility. He appeared

at Ahmedabad as a politician and not as a Mahatma. The general tone of the meeting was in favour of violence. This particularly apparent in the case of delegates from Bengal and the Berars.

The press comments of course are coloured entirely by the views of the journals in which they appear. The *Chronicle* considers that the session has been a great triumph for Gandhi and the compromise arrived at are honourable to all concerned and beneficial to the country.

The *Kesari* of July 1 says : " The proceedings of the All India Congress Committee testify to the complete discomfiture of Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi has made up his mind to root out the Swaraj Party from the Congress but he had to eat humble-pie in the end. At the private gathering after the meeting Mr. Gandhi is reported to have begged his followers with tears in his eyes to be allowed to give up politics and to have been persuaded by Abul Kalam Azad and others to continue to be at his post. But since Mr. Gandhi has half his heart in the pure sphere of antics we have our doubts as to whether he will continue to be in the field of Indian politics for a long time."

The *Dnyan Prakash* of July 2 considers that the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee has conclusively proved that non-co-operation exists and will continue to exist in name only.

The Lokamanya of July 3 writes in much the same strain as the *Kesari*.

The *Hindustan*, on the other hand, in its issue of July 2 believes that the sensible co-operation of the two parties of the Congress will bring them closer during the ensuing months and that in spite of differences of opinion as long as the country has faith in the leadership of Mr. Gandhi his future is hopeful.

The *Chronicle* of July 3 contains an article by Gandhi, which is to be published in the forthcoming number of *Young India*. In it the Mahatma describes his surprise on finding his opponents in such strength; "The Gopinath Saha resolution clinched the issue. The speeches, the result and the scenes I witnessed after was a perfect eye-opener."

" After the declaration the chief actors retired from the scene and the House abandoned itself to levity. The most important resolutions were passed with the greatest unconcern. Everybody rose on points of order and information. The ordeal was enough to try the patience of any chairman. Maulana Mahomed Ali came through it all unscathed. He kept his temper fairly.....All the same dignity vanished after the Gopinath resolution. As the proceedings went on I must have become more and more serious. Often I felt like running away from the oppressive scene."

Gandhi goes on to describe the discussion that led up to the tender of resignation by Gangadharrao Deshpande and had his (Gandhi's) attempt to modify the boycott resolution in favour of Gangadharrao, was defeated. Gandhi then goes on to relate how defeat and disillusionment broke down his self-control and also that of most of the others present : " I have nothing to, forgive, for none had done any wrong to me. On the contrary they had all been personally kind to me. I was sad because we were weighed in the scales of our own making Congress Creed and found wanting. We were such poor representatives of the nation. I seemed to be hopelessly out of place. My grief consisted in the doubt about my own ability to lead those who would not follow. I saw that I was utterly defeated and humbled, but defeat cannot dishearten me. It can only chasten me. My faith in my creed stands immovable. I know that God will guide me. " Truth is superior to man's wisdom. "

GANDHI-DAS-NEHRU STATEMENT

The " Bombay Chronicle ", dated 8th November 1924

Calcutta, November

The Associated Press of India has been supplied with the following arrangement arrived at between Mahatma Gandhi and the Swaraj Party. It is issued to the Press over the Signature of Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru:

Need of Unity

" Whereas although *Swaraj* is the goal of all the parties in India the country is divided into different groups seemingly working in opposite directions, and whereas such antagonistic activity retards the progress of the nation towards *Swaraj*, and whereas it is desirable to bring so far as possible all such parties within the Congress and on a common platform and the whereas the Congress itself is divided into opposing sections, resulting in harm to the country's cause, and whereas it is desirable to re-unite these parties for the purpose of furthering the common cause, and whereas a policy of repression has been commenced in Bengal by the local Government with the sanction of the Governor-General, and whereas in the opinion of the undersigned this repression is aimed at reality not at any party of violence, but at the Swaraj Party in Bengal and herefore at the constitutional and orderly activity and whereas therefore it has become a matter of immediate necessity to invite and secure the co-operation of all parties for putting forth the united strength of the nation against the policy of repression. We the undersigned strongly recommend the following for adoption by all parties and eventually by the Congress at Belgaum.

"The Congress should suspend the programme of non-co-operation as the national programme except in so far as it relates to the refusal to use or wear cloth made out of India."

Co-operation among Parties

"The Congress should further resolve that different classes of work of the Congress may be done as may be found necessary by different section within the Congress and should resolve that the spread of hand-spinning and hand-weaving and all the antecedent progress and the spread of hand upon and hand-woven *khaddar* and the promotion of unity between different communities specially between the Hindus and the Mahomedans and the removal of untouchability by the Hindus from amongst them should be carried on by all sections within the Congress, and work in connection with the Central and Provincial Legislatures should be carried on by the Swaraj Party on behalf of the Congress and is an internal part of the Congress organisation and for sack work the Swaraj Party should make its own rules and raise and administer its own funds."

Spinning Franchise

" Inasmuch as experience has shown that without universal spinning India cannot become self-supporting regarding her clothing requirements and in-as-much as hand-spinning is the best and most tangible method of establishing a visible and substantial bond between the masses and Congress men and women and in order to popularise hand-spinning and its products the Congress should repeal Article seven of the Congress Constitution and should substitute the following:

Therefore no one shall be a member of any Congress Committee or organisation who is not of the age of 18 and who does not wear hand-spun and hand-woven *Khaddar* at Political and Congress functions or which in Congress business and does not make a contribution of 2,000 yards of evenly spun yarn per month of his or her own spinning or in case of illness, unwillingness or any such cause a like quantity of yarn spun by any other person."

HINDUSTANI SEVA DAL

(BOMBAY PROVINCE)

Krishna Building, Hornby Road, Bombay

Constitution

1. *Name*.— Hindustani Seva Dal.

2. *Objects*.—(a) To train and organise the people of India for National Service and disciplined sacrifice with a view to the attainment of Swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means.

(b) To control and bring under uniform discipline all the existing Volunteer Organisations and to establish new ones wherever and whenever necessary.

Note.—The First All-India Volunteer Conference held at Cocanada urged the Congress to recognise this Volunteer Organisation. Accordingly the Congress passed the following resolution at its Cocanada Sessions: —

" This Congresses of opinion that, in order to train the people of India and make them effective instruments for the carrying out of the National work on the lines laid down by the Congress it is necessary to have a trained and disciplined body of workers. This Congress, therefore, welcomes the movement for the formation of an All-India Volunteer Organisation and calls on the Working Committee to take all necessary steps to form such a body of trained workers in co-operation with the organisers of the movement and keep control and supervision over it, while giving it freedom of internal management and administration."

In turn the Conference passed the following resolution:—

" This Conference thanks the Indian National Congress for its resolution relating to the Volunteer Organisation passed at its Cocanada Sessions and declares its willingness to work under the control and supervision of the Working Committee in the terms of the said resolution."

3. *Membership*. —Every Indian above 18 years of age may be admitted into the Organisation, provided he (or she) is approved of by some Officer or some member of the Dal appointed in this behalf. Every such person will have to give an undertaking in writing that he (or she) agrees with and will abide by the rules of the Dal and will carry out all orders given by his (or her) Officers. He (or she) will have to undergo training in accordance with the Schedule prescribed for the purpose. Every such person under training will be called a Sahayak (or Sahayeka). At the conclusion of the period of training the Sahayak (or Sahayika) may become a Full Member, provided he (or she) signs or has signed the Congress Volunteer (Ahmedabad) Pledge, and is approved of by an Officer or a Member of the Dal appointed in this behalf. All Sahayaks (or Sahayikas) who do not sign such pledge will remain Sahayaks (or Sahayikas) so long as they observe the discipline of the Dal.

4.*First Members.*—Those who have signed the Congress Volunteer (Ahmedabad) Pledge before the first day of the Congress Session (28th December 1923) shall be eligible to become First Members provided they apply to become First Members. The Members of the Provisional Board and the President and the Delegates attending the All-India Volunteer Conference and the Office Bearers of the Reception Committee shall be considered Members without any formal application. -

5.*Board.*—There shall be All-India Board of nine members elected by the Conference. It shall be the duty of the Board :—

(i) To frame rules for the organisation, training and control of the Volunteers and for the affiliation of the existing Organisations of National workers as also for all other administrative purposes of the Hindustani Seva Dal.

(ii) The Board shall be the Executive of the Dal and shall take all such steps as may be necessary to carry out the objects of the Dal.

(iii) The Board shall be elected annually at a Conference of the representatives of the Dal.

6. *Co-opted.*—The Board shall have power to co-opt provided that the number of such co-opted Members does not exceed three.

7. *Vacancies.*—In case of a vacancy on the Board, the Board will fill up the vacancy by co-option.

_____ Please tear it out here._____

SAHAYAK MEMBERSHIP FORM

The General Secretary,
Hindustani Seva Dal (Bombay Province)
.....District.

I, the undersigned,.....
Of.....age.....Religion.....
Education.....have read the Constitution and the rules of the
Hindustani Seva Dal. (The constitution and rules of the Hindustani Seva Dal have been read and
explained to me). I intend to become a Sahayak of the Dal. I agree with the rules of the Dal and will
abide by them and will carry out the orders given by the officers of the Dal under whom I may be
placed from time to time for the purposes of training or for carrying out the national Work.

Kindly enrol me as a Sahayak of the Hindustani Seva Dal.
Date
Place

Signature.....
Profession.....
Address.....

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